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University Students' Attitudes Towards Body Hair And Hair Removal: An Exploration Of The Effects Of Background Characteristics, Socialization, And Societal Pressures

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**UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS BODY HAIR AND HAIR
REMOVAL: AN EXPLORATION OF THE EFFECTS OF BACKGROUND
CHARACTERISTICS, SOCIALIZATION, AND SOCIETAL PRESSURES**

by

BESSIE N. RIGAKOS

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

2010

MAJOR: SOCIOLOGY

Approved by:

Advisor

Date

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to future sociologists who embark on the dissertation process,
"When you feel like giving up, remember why you held on for so long in the first place."

~ Unknown

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If anyone was to ask, I would describe myself as a “product of Wayne State’s Sociology Department.” Through the years, there have been many people, such as my advisor, committee members, peers, and family members who have taught me about academia, sociology, and life in general.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In our culture, not one part of a woman's body is left untouched or unaltered. No feature or extremity is spared the art, or pain, of improvement...from head to toe, every feature of a woman's face, every section of her body, is subject to modification, alteration. This alteration is an ongoing, repetitive process. It is vital to the economy, the major substance of male-female role differentiation, the most immediate physical and psychological reality of being a woman. From the age of 11 or 12 until she dies, a woman will spend a large part of her time, money and energy on binding, plucking, painting, and deodorizing herself. (Dworkin, 1974: 113-114; Bordo, 1999: 248).

Feminist literature surrounding women's body hair removal suggests that an inflexible and uniform set of beauty ideals has been perpetuated and firmly established within our cultural norms (Tiggemann & Kenyon, 1998). There is also evidence that body hair removal is a major aspect of gender and societal norms. For instance, the practice of removing hair helps define gender categories, such as masculine and feminine (Black & Sharma, 2004; Fingeret & Gleaves, 2004; Hope, 1982; Ferrante, 1998). Social constructions of gender suggest that to be hairless is to be feminine and to be hairy is to be masculine. Consequently, female hair removal in American society has become a common, normative practice that is taken for granted by many women in the United States.

A recent pilot study (Rigakos, 2004) indicated that women wanted to adhere to hairlessness norms because they believed that body hair removal enables them to fit into society without having their femininity questioned. Choosing to look like other women creates a notion of invisibility, which means that women look conventionally

attractive so that they can blend in. If women are noticed, then they are noticed for their flaws and their nonconformity to appearance standards. However, results indicated that minority women were less likely to report that they wanted to blend in. Many researchers who have studied beauty norms have studied only Caucasian women, but have generalized their results to all women. Within the research on hairlessness and the removal of body hair, racial variations in attitudes and experiences have not been investigated adequately. Therefore, there is a racial gap in the understanding of beauty norms.

This dissertation focuses on attitudes toward body hair and body hair removal from public/private body areas with the hope of offering a better understanding of the differences and/or similarities in the gendered roles that women have in American society. Historian Joan Jacobs Brumberg (1998) suggests that women “learn from a very early age that the power of their gender is tied to what they look like – and how ‘sexy’ they are – rather than to character and achievement” (Brumberg, 1998: 195). Therefore, women are taught to engage in bodily routines that emphasize certain body parts which allow them to attempt to appear “beautiful” or “sexy” by mainstream standards (Bordo, 1989; Wolf, 1991; Bartky, 2003). Naomi Wolf (1991) makes it clear, then, that, in learning gendered beauty norms, women are learning about the bodily routines they should participate in to adhere to those norms. The hairlessness norm is just one of many beauty norms that women in the U.S. learn over time. By continuing to explore women’s reasons for body hair removal, researchers can assess further the impact of the hairlessness norm, how and why women adhere to the hairlessness norm, and how this adherence might affect their sense of self, body image, and, more broadly,

women's emotional and physical health in the long run. Research must also emphasize potential negative effects for women who do not adhere to the hairlessness norm, including the loss of personal and professional power. For example, Rose Weitz (2002) illustrates how women use their head hair (e.g., style, cut, and color) to conform to, resist, and negotiate hegemonic beauty norms, thus gaining (or losing) personal and professional power and other resources or opportunities. Therefore, studying adherence to individual gender norms also allows us to come closer to the point at which we could begin to contradict these norms and teach women about healthy alternatives.

For the purpose of this study, body hair is defined as any visible hair on a participant's body (including the face), excluding the top of the head. Hairlessness norms are of interest because uncovering the important factors related to American beauty norms can facilitate a greater understanding of the gendered roles women have in American society. In addition, the present study will try to understand whether and how women respond to hairlessness norms, women's attitudes towards beauty, and body hair/hair removal in general. This dissertation attempts to extend the literature on women's hair removal attitudes and practices by: 1) investigating the motivations behind hair removal from different body areas; 2) examining a broad range of contemporary hair removal methods; 3) exploring women's attitudes towards Western beauty norms, such as different bodily routines and body hair removal; 4) looking at women's perceived knowledge and/or experiences with the positive and/or negative social reactions they associate with adhering to and/or violating hairlessness norms; and 5) examining the relationship between socialization and body hair removal.

There is a lack of research surrounding hair removal practices (Toerien et.al., 2005; Toerien & Wilkinson, 2004; Tiggemann & Kenyon, 1998; Basow, 1991). According to Tiggemann and Hodgson (2008), over the last decade and a half, there have only been four surveys and two experimental studies investigating the removal of women's body hair. Thus, the first aim of the present study is to extend the literature surrounding women's body hair removal, by providing baseline data on the extent of and reasons for depilation from public and/or private body areas in university-aged women. The available evidence indicates that the attitudes and practices surrounding hair removal are similar across cultural contexts; however, the second aim is to extend the literature by providing a baseline for the further study of hair removal that includes other socio-demographic categories, such as age, race, religion, and income. The third aim is to conduct a preliminary investigation of women's commitment to hairlessness norms by examining the extent of depilatory methods women use. In all of these studies (Basow, 1991; Tiggemann & Kenyon, 1998; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004; Rigakos, 2004; Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008), participants most frequently indicated that hair removal was associated with reasons of femininity and attractiveness. Therefore, the fourth aim of this study is to examine more fully the attitudes and motivations behind women's hair removal. Finally, a preliminary investigation of possible predictors is conducted with the hope of determining what factors influence women's attitudes and decisions to remove hair from public/private body areas. Specifically, this study examines whether social background characteristics (e.g., race, age, income, political beliefs, employment status, and relationship status), bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with

social rewards/consequences, and socialization of hairlessness norms influence women's attitudes about body hair and body hair removal.

This dissertation begins with an overview of the literature regarding women's attitudes, experiences, and treatment of hairlessness. The literature review covers how women mold themselves through hairlessness as a means of "fitting in," a comparison of attitudes among Caucasian women and women of color towards body hair and hairlessness norms, how women incorporate bodily routines into their daily lives, the possibility of women securing social rewards for "looking good," the physical and mental effects associated with adhering to beauty ideals, how beauty rituals may emphasize and/or define gender for women, and the negative effects associated with common hair removal techniques. The theory chapter and a detailed methodology chapter follow. In the theory chapter, three theoretical frameworks are used to study women's attitudes towards body hair and body hair removal. The first, Foucauldian feminism, explains how women learn to "do gender" or learn to look feminine by using body hair removal to discipline their bodies. The second framework, Symbolic Interactionism, examines how the symbolic meanings associated with hairlessness are used to determine how women think about themselves and how women relate to others, both individually and in a group. Finally, Objectification theory illustrates how women's bodies are seen as individual parts of the whole that are judged and evaluated. In the methodology chapter, 21 hypotheses were formulated in an attempt of achieving the aims of this study, and it briefly describes the findings from a pilot study of 82 women surveyed during 2003-2004 regarding their attitudes toward body hair and body hair removal. Next, the results chapter utilizes univariate, bivariate, and multivariate associations

between the independent and dependent variables to explore the research goal of whether social background characteristics (e.g., race, age, income, political beliefs, employment status, and relationship status), bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms influence the extent of women's body hair removal. Findings revealed that social background characteristics, bodily routines, and knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences did not play an influential role in determining their depilation behavior (from public/private body areas), but greater amounts of socialization to hairlessness norms and negative attitudes towards body hair influenced the extent of depilation from public/visible body areas and the number of depilatory methods the women used. It is important to note that while this study did not produce many significant results, and the current literature was not expanded in the ways that were outlined, there were still lessons to be learned. It was clear from the results that the topic of body hair removal is difficult to study. Even after conducting hundreds of quantitative tests, this study was still left with few significant statistical results. Thus, it is believed that the important nuances in the data, and generally, important opportunities in recruitment and data analyses were missed. Yet, if future researchers incorporate the lessons learned here into their own research and change how they study this topic, they may be able to uncover what was missed, that is, the connections between women's hair removal attitudes, experiences, and behavior. At the very least, this study is able to confirm that women remove hair from more public body areas than private body areas, and hair removal is a learned behavior among sample participants. Methodologically, this study's results also point out many lessons

that future researchers should take seriously when planning their own studies. Thus the findings presented in this dissertation provide a baseline and teaching tool for future research. The discussion and conclusion (Chapter 6) will outline these issues more thoroughly, in addition to the contributions of this research, and the importance of future research for the study of changes in body hair removal over time.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH ON BEAUTY IDEALS AND BODY WORK

Research on beauty ideals in America suggests that there are mental and physical risk factors associated with becoming beautiful. There are specific interpersonal and/or societal factors that drive some women to become dissatisfied with the way they look, ultimately causing them to engage in efforts to adhere to American beauty ideals. For instance, “Forty-five percent of underweight women say that they are too fat” (Wolf, 1991: 250). While many beauty norms have been discussed in social science literature, “over the last decade and a half, there have been four surveys and two experimental studies investigating the removal of women’s body hair” (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008:890). Because of the lack of research on this topic, it is not completely known whether and why women may remove their body hair. Attitudes towards women’s body hair removal and the “hairlessness norm” is the primary focus of this research. The practice of removing hair is socially defined and constructs gender categories, such as masculine and feminine (Black & Sharma, 2001; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004; Hope, 1982; Ferrante, 1988). For instance, men and women, “guided by social norms, arrange head and body hair to reflect larger cultural conceptions...” (Ferrante, 1988: 220).

Body hair removal for women in Western society has become so common that many authors simply refer to a “hairlessness norm.” Thus, for the purposes of this study, the “hairlessness norm” refers to a woman’s intentional practice of hair removal

from her entire body, including her legs, underarms, face, and bikini area (Basow, 1991; Labre, 2002; Hope, 1982). Shaving is the most common way to remove unwanted body hair, even though some report experiencing skin irritation, cuts, and/or ingrown hairs with this technique. The literature that informs this research includes an exploration of how women mold themselves through hairlessness as a means of “fitting in,” a comparison of attitudes among Caucasian women and women of color towards body hair and hairlessness norms, how women “do beauty” for others, the possibility of women securing social rewards for “looking good,” the physical and mental effects associated with adhering to beauty ideals, how beauty rituals may emphasize and/or define gender for women, and negative effects associated with common hair removal techniques.

Becoming Beautiful: Why a Woman Wants to “Fit In”

A review of the literature about the attitudes and treatment of hairlessness suggests that most women discipline or shape their bodies in order to adhere to beauty norms (e.g., removing leg, face, and underarm hair). The literature discusses how women mold themselves through their hairlessness, and suggests that they are not doing this for reasons of self-preservation; instead, they are doing it for reasons of social acceptance. In addition, the literature focuses on women's attitudes towards hairlessness and examines whether hairlessness norms hinder women from experiencing social rewards in society.

Foucauldian feminists suggest that women learn to discipline or self-police their bodies from a young age (Weitz, 2004; Lorber & Moore, 2007; Young, 1990; Bartky, 1998). The successful woman is rewarded for her adherence to beauty norms;

unsuccessful women, who are not beautiful, or are not good at beauty, live daily with the social consequences of their non-adherence. Adhering to beauty norms, such as body hair removal, requires that women behave in certain ways. For example, the behavior of removing body hair means that women frequently shave their legs and/or underarms before they leave home. To avoid banishment from the hairless society, as visible body hair is condemned, women consciously take part in mandatory disciplines, such as removing their body hair, in order to be seen as feminine. Their engagement in this mandatory discipline of the female body makes it difficult for women to defy their subordinate position in Western society (Bartky, 1998).

To many women, this attempt at becoming beautiful means that their appearance is similar to others. In fact, "The more perfect a woman can make herself look, the less different she is from other women in society" (Frank, 2001:5). Differences, or imperfections, make a woman stand out in American society. Women must hide imperfections or flaws by self-policing, shaping, molding, and disciplining their bodies so that they adhere to beauty ideals and look like other women. Women are judged and labeled by others based on those imperfections. For instance, when a woman does not shave her underarms, she is no longer defined as feminine or beautiful by society, as her imperfections are visible. Therefore, being invisible means that a woman is feminine and beautiful, because she has adhered to American beauty ideals.

It is difficult for many women to attain the ideal body because successfully achieving beauty ideals requires discipline. Women are taught to discipline their bodies so that one perfect woman looks pretty much like the next (Wolf, 1991); she is not human, but interchangeable and disposable. Women are expected to discipline each

individual body part and to look at their bodies as parts of a whole, such as “a torso, legs, and a shapely fanny” (Wolf, 1991:245). Women attempt to attain an ideal body, and society evaluates women and women evaluate themselves against this standard. The motivation for many women is that they want to be viewed as beautiful, because the more beautiful a woman is, the more she is seen as feminine. The quest for beauty and femininity is ultimately achieved by successfully disciplining the body. This adherence to femininity (through beauty) is rewarded.

Labre (2002) illustrates how adhering to beauty ideals makes women socially acceptable to others as well as themselves. For instance, Labre explored the Brazilian wax, which is a procedure involving the removal of hair from women’s genitalia. The removal of body hair has become normalized in our society, and women learn to discipline their minds to see the hair on their bodies as unattractive and unfeminine (Toerien, et.al., 2005; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004; Labre, 2002). Women learn to self-police their physical bodies because of a socialized view of their body hair as disgusting. “Its removal offers immediate pleasure and relief” (Labre, 2002; 127). Consequently, the removal of body hair is both socially and emotionally rewarding for women. Because of potential rewards from others, women begin to see benefits to their own hairlessness and internalize hairlessness norms.

Women attempt to “fit in” by becoming beautiful, and thus try to be noticed for their beauty and not their imperfections. Women also attempt to look like other beautiful women because it makes them feel feminine. An oft-cited phrase in the literature, “What is beautiful is good,” sums up these perceptions (Kwan & Trautner, 2009:49). For instance, individuals often assume that physically attractive people lead happier and

more successful lives than less attractive people (Kwan & Trautner, 2009; Dion et al., 1972). Conversely, women want to become beautiful because this is their “escape from anyone...” (Frank, 2001:6). In other words, unattractive individuals are subject to stigma, stereotyping, and discrimination. Therefore, women adhere to beauty norms to “fit in.”

Race, gender identification, and “fitting in.”

Women of color typically have been left out of research on the body and beauty ideals, while research findings based on White participants often have been generalized to all women (Frith, 2004; Poran, 2002, 2006; Zinn, 1990; Basow, 1991). The variations among women's experiences with the body and body representations, as they are affected by racial identity, have not been investigated adequately. The rare research that focuses on women of color discusses comparisons to Caucasian women regarding issues of obesity, differences in hairstyles and hair texture, and variations in facial features (Hall, 2005; Hill, 2002; Poran, 2002). Caucasian women have been found to have fairly standardized notions of what constitutes a beauty norm in the U.S. Women of color, on the other hand, are thought to be less likely to “hold uniform notions of beauty, and are far more likely to describe beauty in terms of personality traits than physical ones” (Landrine, Klonoff & Brown-Collins, 1992: 148). Beauty for women of color may not be solely defined by physical appearance. For instance, Caucasian women may be more likely to enhance their attractiveness by removing their body hair, whereas hair removal may not be considered as something minority women could do that would necessarily make them more attractive (Poran, 2002, 2006; Labre, 2002; Parker et al., 1995).

The few existing studies that included African American participants indicated contrasting experiences of the body and meanings of beauty (Frith, 2004; Poran, 2002, 2006; Zinn, 1990; Hill, 2002; Hall, 2005). For instance, Parker et al. (1995) found differences between African American and White American females' ideas and experiences of beauty. The African American women's perceptions of beauty focused on personality traits and a personal sense of style, rather than a certain "look." Landrine et al. (1992) also reported differences between White and Black women's definitions of descriptive words, such as "attractive" and "feminine." Other studies focused on African American women and hair/hairstyles (Carter & Abdullah, 2001; Weitz, 2004; Synnott, 1990). Carter and Abdullah (2001) illustrate that women of different racial/ethnic backgrounds hold attitudes towards beauty that sometimes coincide. The authors studied 25 African American women and found that the sociological implications behind the choices of hairstyle reflected how these women saw themselves, as well as how other people saw them. The authors conclude, "Societal beauty norms will reward African American women for their choice of hairstyle" (Carter & Abdullah, 2001: 40). Moreover, Weitz's (2004) findings indicate that compared with White girls, Black girls were unconcerned with popular media such as teen magazines, and were generally more satisfied with their own looks. However, because of the "emphasis on hair in black culture, they expressed more dissatisfaction than white girls with their hair" (Weitz, 2004:52). Hair for many Black girls is an important identity marker (Weitz, 2004; Synnott, 1990), and "gives girls a comforting sense of belonging to a larger ethnic community" (Weitz, 2004: 55).

Frith's (2004) study examined the differences in the ways Western and Asian models are used in advertising. Frith's findings suggest that Western women are viewed by advertisers as being different from Asian women. Asian women were portrayed in the classic beauty ads, and the Western women were portrayed in sensual/sexy type ads. These findings suggest differences in beauty standards and racial diversity. Overall, few researchers have explored women of color's attitudes and experiences with the dominant White beauty standard.

In the United States, where the dominant culture is constructed by White people of various backgrounds (Hall, 2005; De Casanova, 2004; Hill, 2002), women of color have often used "assimilation as a coping mechanism" (Poran, 2002: 76). Forms of assimilation include speaking English and wearing Western clothing. Another form of assimilation is the changing of physical features and appearance. Records of the personal experiences of many women of color reveal how common it is for young African American children to wish to be White and/or desire typically Western features, such as straight hair (Hall, 2005; De Casanova, 2004; Badillo, 2001). "Looking White" is equated to "looking Western." One reason for this could be a desire to blend or fit in, and to not be noticed as different, as being different or the "other" often goes hand in hand with racist taunts and stares. De Casanova's (2004) research examines the negotiation of socio-cultural ideals and body image of women by gender, race, and beauty. The young women in the study held racist beauty ideals, but were flexible when judging the appearance of real-life women. They perceived two competing or complementary prototypes of beauty, one White and one Latina. De Casanova's (2004) study fills a gap in the literature on beauty and the body by examining a sample that

does not fit into the usual Black-White dichotomy of race. By adhering to White beauty norms, women of color are no longer seen as different. Women of color fit in because they have chosen to become beautiful, that is to say more like White women. Women of color and White women may both want to adhere to beauty norms but maybe for slightly different reasons.

From a young age, many women desire to become beautiful (De Casanova, 2004; Hill, 2002; Poran, 2002, 2006; Badillo, 2001). Whiteness or looking White, for many non-Caucasian women in American society, is often accomplished by assimilation or imitation. For many non-Caucasian women, Whiteness is often equated with a “neutral, normal and standard” (Hall, 2005; Hill, 2002; Poran, 2002, 2006; Frankenberg, 1993; Mullings, 1994; Ortiz, 1994). In his study on racial domination, Ronald Hall (2005;1995) stated that African Americans internalize light skin and other dominant race characteristics, as the “ideal point of reference for normal assimilation into American society” (99). Women of color have lived their lives in a White society, and therefore are defined in part by a white lens. Thus, by mimicking how White women look, the more they fit in, because they are perceived to be approximating beauty. Women of color internalize the ideal standards of beauty. There are hierarchical categories of Whiteness, and some groups of people may never feel that they are White enough (Hall, 2005; Poran, 2002, 2006; Hill, 2002; Dyer, 1997).

The hairlessness norm in American culture helps perpetuate the idea that White women become more beautiful and feminine if their bodies are hair-free (Toerien, et.al., 2005; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004; Toerien & Wilkinson, 2004; Basow, 1991; Basow & Willis, 2001; Tiggemann & Kenyon, 1998). To be hairy or even slightly hairy as a

Caucasian woman is to have failed in the pursuit of beauty and femininity in American society. That is, White women's lack of adherence to norms makes them non- beautiful.

"Hairlessness is viewed as a component of femininity for white women in white-American culture..." (Basow & Willis, 2001:571). Popular magazines extensively publicize the ideal of hairless White feminine beauty, and the concern with body hair has become normative (Toerien, et.al., 2005; Hope, 1982; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004). Beauty and femininity in American society is thus seen through a White lens, and is defined and/or reinforced by mainstream media. This hairlessness norm has implications for how we view the beauty of White women against women of color. Essentially, White characteristics such as the hairlessness norm must be achieved in order for women of color to be perceived in Western society as beautiful and feminine (Frith, 2004; Hall, 2005; Hill, 2002). Empirical research needs to examine these potential commonalities and differences among Caucasian women and women of color more fully. It may be that all women, regardless of race, believe hairlessness to be an important part of fitting in.

"Doing Beauty" for Others

For many women in Western societies, perfected beauty (e.g., smooth, hairless bodies) is an ideal often disguised as *natural* beauty. Thus, in Western society, 'natural' beauty is an illusion. Often, "it is the unnatural and artificial image that women are forced to see as ideal" (Szekely, 2002: 109). In the face of this ideal, almost every woman in North America is aware that her own body, face, skin, and body hair are a disappointment and a failure to our society. The real self is unacceptable, flawed, a burden that becomes unforgivable, and imperfections need to be hidden or

camouflaged so that this burden does not become visibly and recognizably abnormal. Women should not risk being seen as different from the norm, which is the tall, slender woman with no visible body hair. The pursuit of ideal attractiveness is not merely a personal preference or choice (Szekely, 2002: 110); it is a desire and set of activities women learn, such as shaving their legs. Women who achieve some success in this discipline take pride in their skills and accomplishments, and are “not likely to respond favorably to arguments that accommodating is a meaningless skill, or even worse, a skill that harms women” (Bartky, 1998:39). Women see the ability to successfully adhere to beauty norms, such as body hair removal, as a skill that is rewarded in society.

In contrast, feminist scholars who study beauty norms have been critical of women’s forced entanglement with ideology that demands impossible standards for youthfulness and denies the reality of adult women’s bodies. Beauty standards, according to some feminists, not only oppress women but also make women practice a form of femininity for others, usually for the more powerful sex (men) in American society (Lorber & Moore, 2007, Toerien, et. al., 2005; Morgan, 2002; Frith, 2004; Wolf, 1991; Faludi, 1991; Lakoff & Scherr, 1984; Brownmiller, 1984; Chapkis, 1986). Similarly, Kathryn Morgan (2002) argues that although women may feel that they are making a free and informed choice, they are not really free to make a genuine choice because of patriarchal cultural pressures. Morgan also argues that although women may say that they are creating a new identity for themselves, they are really conforming to traditional (male-dominated) ideologies of how women’s bodies should look. Additionally, some argue that the work performed on oneself, for example, body hair removal (Kwan &

Trautner, 2009, Gimlin, 2007) pits women against one another and drains time and energy (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Black & Sharma, 2001; Tarvis, 1992). Some authors (Frith, 2004; Lauzen, 2002; Bartky, 1998) argue that beauty discourses position women in very particular ways that are both self-disciplining and socially imposed. Women internalize the gaze of the male connoisseur, and they live their bodies as “seen by another, by an anonymous patriarchal Other” (Bartky 1998: 38). As a result, women are “doing beauty” for others.

Beauty norms in Western society are ethnocentric in their admiration of the slender, blue-eyed, blonde-haired, hair-free, White Anglo-Saxon, heterosexual female body (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Frankenberg, 1993; Dyer, 1997; Kulick & Meneley, 2005). Any woman marked by visible body hair, disability, homosexuality, age, ethnicity, or race does not fit the Western standard of beauty. Only a small minority of those who strive for Western beauty can come close, and only for a short period of time. Beauty is an ideal, according to Szekely (2002); if too many women are able to meet the beauty standards of a particular time and place, then those standards must change in order to maintain their extraordinary nature. Even White Anglo-Saxon women have difficulty maintaining this norm.

Women with body hair are less beautiful because they defy the hairlessness norm. Studies on hairlessness attitudes suggest that women adhere to social norms defined by others. Toerien et.al. (2005) studied 678 women from the U.K. The authors found that over 99% of the participants reported removing some hair, mainly from their underarms, legs, pubic areas, and eyebrows, to adhere to social norms defined by others and to participate in a normative way of producing acceptable femininity (Toerien

et.al., 2005: 399). And the stakes continue to rise: in the past, the standard was a hair-free bikini-line. Currently, the standard is the “Brazilian,” in which women remove hair from the entire genital area. Thus, attempting to attain the ideal body by adhering to societal beauty standards, even for a short period of time, is difficult for many women to achieve. This ideal feminine body is difficult to achieve because it is “absolutely tight, contained, bolted down” (Bordo, 2003:190).

Adhering to the hairlessness norm is a common practice for many women because of the negative attitudes related to body hair. Tiggemann and Lewis’ (2004) results indicate that negative attitudes towards body hair were related to “disgust sensitivity.” Therefore, body hair on women, but not on men, was found to be an elicitor of disgust, and its removal was expected by both men and women as a normal solution. Basow and Willis (2001) indicate that regardless of the reasons a woman may have for not ridding her body of hair, that hair is associated with negative perceptions. “Raters [participants in the study] must have thought there was no legitimate reason not to remove leg and underarm hair, another indication of the strength of the hairless ideal at least for white women” (Basow & Willis, 2001:576). The authors conclude that there is no way around the social pressures of the hairlessness norm. The approval of others gives women the assurance that they have become beautiful, accepted, and rewarded. Thus, the approval of others can lead to self-approval.

A Matter of Choice? Social Rewards via Hairlessness

In a world that judges by appearance, knowing and believing that appearance can be changed is empowering (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Weitz, 2004; Gilman, 1999). Social rewards and benefits that accompany physical attractiveness provide strong

incentives to participate in beauty work practices (Kwan & Trautner, 2009). For instance, beauty work may range from some women wearing makeup to others having cosmetic surgery. Cosmetic surgery accounts for approximately “40 percent of plastic surgery, mostly performed on women who are dissatisfied with the way they look” (Grogan, 1999:121). Most women maintain internal norms of their appearance. By adhering to beauty norms, women can become empowered from attention in American society, which makes them visible, albeit not because of their imperfections. “Even women who reject hegemonic beauty ideals participate in some forms of beauty work, perhaps to achieve a different ideal...” (Kwan & Trautner, 2009:55) Thus, there is constantly more work that women need to do to create bodily beauty and/or become invisible.

Many women believe that if they adhere to society’s beauty standards they will benefit from the rewards it has to offer. However, Bartky (1998) argues that women may not *choose* to adhere to beauty norms. Rather, women are unlikely to resist beauty standards because of “a reluctance to part with the rewards of compliance” (Bartky, 1998:39). These rewards are mainly social, such as being more likely to be hired for certain jobs or win approval from others. For instance, attractive people are more likely to earn about five percent more in hourly pay than their average-looking colleagues (Hamermesh, 2006; Hamermesh & Biddle, 1994).

According to the dominant beauty discourse, adhering to appearance norms (e.g., wearing makeup, dying hair, or tanning) results in a woman being defined as feminine and beautiful and makes her eligible to receive social rewards. Hamermesh (2006) analyzed whether a candidate’s appearance affects his/her electoral chances,

and how an individual's changed appearance affects his/her chance at victory. The study found that a more attractive electoral candidate had an increased chance of electoral success. In another study, students consistently gave attractive professors higher evaluations than they gave their less attractive professors (Hamermesh & Parker, 2005). According to the authors, beauty triggered positive responses from students and led them to evaluate some professors more favorably. Clearly, more attractive people earn higher economic rewards and social approval.

Adhering to appearance norms plays an important role in gaining respect in the workplace, even though it causes sexual objectification. Women who adhere to appearance norms are seen as "healthy, heterosexual, and competent" (Dellinger & Williams, 1997: 168). The more beautiful a woman is, the more likely she will be perceived as heterosexual. Also, the more beautiful a woman is, the more she is valued as a worker. Women appreciate the social rewards associated with adherence to appearance norms and may adhere specifically to gain these social and economic rewards in the workplace. In this context, resistance to appearance norms is difficult because social rewards associated with the workplace are valuable. In the face of potential rewards at work, women may be forced into adherence. This is perhaps not a choice, but a prescription for behavior.

Another social reward linked to women's adherence to appearance norms is mate selection or dating. According to Weitz (2003), attractiveness serves as an indirect form of power, and allows women to secure things they desire, including relationships. Men are more likely than women to prefer mates who are more physically attractive, whereas women are more likely than men to prefer higher levels of education and good

potential for higher earnings (Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004; Ross, 1997; Buss & Barnes, 1986). Thus, adherence to appearance norms becomes especially important for women seeking heterosexual partners because of the importance men place on appearance. If women understand the importance others attach to their appearance, then they have no choice but to adhere to beauty norms. Otherwise, they will not receive heterosexual attention.

Ross (1997) examined the attitudes and preferences of African American college students toward dating and future mate selection. The author found that there was an importance of skin tone or skin color in mate selection preferences among the students. Thompson and Keith (2001) described the importance of skin tone for evaluations of self-worth and competence. Findings indicate that darker-skinned individuals experienced more social disadvantages and emotional pain. Thus, lighter-skinned individuals were seen as more desirable, illustrating the internalization of White Western norms.

These studies suggest that as long as women accommodate and attempt to uphold society's beauty standards, they will benefit. Through the molding, shaping, disciplining, or self-policing of their body parts, women can gain social rewards because adherence to beauty ideals makes women more acceptable as their imperfect parts are brought under control. Women attempt to meet beauty ideals by focusing on molding their bodies and appearances to a closer approximation of the female beauty ideal in order to be rewarded in society. Female beautification practices, such as the removal of body hair and adherence to other appearance norms contribute to the normalization and homogenization of the female beauty ideal. Although women supposedly have the

choice of not removing their body hair, women are held accountable for their appearance, and thus mold their bodies via hairlessness in order to be socially rewarded and accepted. Thus, because of the social rewards available, women do not really have a “choice.”

Women are provided with many options regarding hair removal products and techniques, and adhering to beauty norms is a time-consuming practice. It takes time to pluck eyebrows, wax moustaches, and shave legs (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004). Women know that the transformation from “female to feminine is artificial” (Chapkis, 1986: 65) and the amount of time and effort it takes is hidden. However, these practices continue, perhaps out of hesitation of being recognizable to other women as not being “naturally” beautiful. Albeit exhausting, body hair removal is a responsibility women must endure for potential social rewards.

The Physical and Mental Effects of Beauty Ideals

Researchers focus on the more obvious physical effects of beauty-related disorders, such as eating disorders or ruptured silicone implants, but what about the less obvious effects? Modern rituals, such as wearing pointy-toed, high-heeled shoes, tight jeans, or sleeping with hair curlers, all have negative physical health effects. Saltzberg and Chrisler (2000) suggest that high heels lead to lower back pain and other foot disorders, whereas tight or hip hugger jeans can cause circulation problems. Feminists have argued that ideals of female beauty and the work required to reach that beauty have devastating health effects, both mentally and physically (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Bordo, 1990; Freedman, 1988; Wolf, 1991).

The curvaceously thin female represents a sexual ideal, a fantasy, a non-realistic woman who is nonetheless used by real women as a point of comparison in their efforts to improve their bodies (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Harrison, 2003; Wolf, 1991; Furnham, et.al., 1998). There is a discrepancy between the upper and lower halves of this ideal: a large bust and slim hips. Women's efforts to mold their bodies to these proportions must include not only excessive dieting for the lower body, but creative methods of simultaneously maintaining an above average-sized upper body with extraordinary undertakings such as breast augmentation surgery and liposuction (Calogero et.al., 2005; Harrison, 2003). Women physically struggle for dangerously thin bodies with oversized breasts. The pressure of achieving the perfection associated with the ideal body "is highly stressful" (Freedman, 1988: 45), and has resulted in a large "majority of American women with negative body images" (Dworkin & Kerr, 1987: 39). Thus, women are suffering both mentally and physically in order to achieve the ideal body.

For many American women, small breasts are considered "pathological and in need of immediate surgical intervention" (Saltzberg & Chrisler, 2000: 306). It has also been reported that 87% of adults would change any part of their body for cosmetic reasons, and of those, "half would change multiple body parts" (Fetto, 2003:10). Surgery helps women become less distinct from other women in our beauty-obsessed society, because it hides their imperfections. Thus, the physical risks related to beauty are ignored in light of the normalization of surgical modification to the body.

According to Kristen Harrison (2003), many studies have linked "ideal-body media exposures to the idealization of a slim female figure, but none have examined the proportions of this figure" (Harrison, 2003: 255). For women, exposure to ideal body

images on television predicted the choice of a smaller waist and hips, and either a larger bust (for those who perceived themselves to be smaller-busted) or a smaller bust (for those who perceived themselves to be larger-busted). The author concluded that exposure to ideal body images on television predicts approval of women's use of surgical body alteration methods such as liposuction and breast augmentation.

Rita Freedman (1984) also explored the physical concerns of beauty through the effects of physical fitness programs, the role of the media, and the influence of changing gender roles on young women. The author stated that for females, the body is to be preserved, protected, and made more beautiful. It is maintained that girls suffer psychologically from negative body image: lowered self-esteem and achievement conflicts. Women's physical "health is undermined by current beauty norms that lead to eating disorders, cosmetic acne, and breast surgery" (Freedman, 1984: 29).

Body image is formed from the positive and the negative feedback from people whose opinions matter. It is also the way people consider their bodies to fit or not fit within the cultural ideal. Body image with a focus on eating disorders is both a physical and mental concern for many women who adhere to beauty ideals in America (Calogero, et. al., 2005; Lorber & Moore, 2007; Markey, 2005). Garner and Kearney-Cooke (1996) state that body image encompasses both objective attributes and subjective representations of physical appearance. Negative body image can lead to physical problems, such as eating disorders, and there is evidence that the "epidemic increase in eating disorders since the 1960s is related to the intense social and cultural pressures" (Garner & Kearney-Cooke, 1996: 55) on women to fit a thin ideal of feminine attractiveness that for most women is unnatural. The authors conclude that the

fostering of a positive body image is one of the keys to helping people overcome physical concerns of becoming beautiful, such as eating disorders.

Morry and Staska (2001) found similar results regarding body image issues. The authors investigated the relationships among magazine exposure, objectification, body shape dissatisfaction, and eating disorders in 150 men and women (aged 18-42 yrs). For women, exposure to beauty magazines predicted objectification mediated by internalization. For men, only internalization predicted objectification. Reading magazines also predicted eating problems for men and women; for women this was mediated by internalization. The authors' findings suggest that magazine reading has an impact on both women's reactions to physical appearance and their eating behaviors. In other words, magazines and other media set the beauty standards that many women strive to achieve, but because of their unattainable nature, many women feeling inadequate and unsatisfied with their bodies.

Women are willing to accept both the mental and physical health risks that accompany adherence to beauty ideals in order to mold their natural physical bodies into forms that are less distinctive. The value of beauty is lessened by the high cost of achieving it. There are physical and psychological costs in addition to the economic-and time concerns that exist for many American women. Women suffer the effects of attaining beauty ideals. The mental and physical side effects women suffer while trying to attain beauty ideals have been disastrous for their health (Freedman, 1984; Garner & Kearney-Cooke, 1996; Harrison, 2003).

Gender Identification and Beauty Rituals

Beauty rituals prepare women for social life by imposing self-discipline and a certain measure of severity (Coser, 1977; Durkheim, 1954). Beauty rituals are the daily, mundane practices women do in order to look beautiful and natural. For instance, common beauty rituals for many women include the application of makeup, moisturizers, hair dyes, hair straighteners, hair curlers, and body hair removal. Beauty rituals require women to follow the rules of femininity by disciplining their bodies. Weitz (2002) describes Foucault's description of "docile bodies" as "people mechanically perform tasks, and in doing so both internalize and act on the ideologies that underlie their own subordination" (p. 135). Therefore, women are "docile bodies" carrying out the mechanical function of beauty rituals on a daily basis.

Women follow the rules of femininity by mechanically performing the disciplinary practice of shaving or other forms of body hair removal. Emphasized femininity, according to R.W. Connell (1987), is oriented to accommodating the interests and needs of men and is embodied in representations of women in the media and advertising. "Emphasized femininity is the most culturally valued form of femininity" (Kelly, et.al., 2005: 129), and is constantly sought by women (Connell, 1987; Black & Sharma; 2001, Toerien & Wilkinson, 2004; Markey, 2005; Frith, 2004). MacCannell and MacCannell (1987) stated that before the 1980s, advice regarding beauty rituals was aimed at achieving a look whose goal was to attract men and ultimately earn a husband. Advertising shifted and moved away from the physical appeal or the look women achieved for the "male-gaze" (Bartky, 1998; Bordo, 2003), and towards women who engaged in beauty rituals in order to gain personal pleasure.

Beauty rituals, such as shaving and other forms of body hair removal, enhance a woman's femininity. However, women may accommodate or resist societal norms when engaging in behavior to alter their appearances. Accommodation refers to "actions that accept subordination, by either adopting or simply not challenging the ideologies that support subordination" (Weitz, 2002: 137), and includes women who adopt behaviors, such as routine beauty rituals, in order to attract men. For instance, although body hair is normal, the majority of women remove the hair from their legs and underarms (Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004). Accommodating actions are not only time-consuming but faithfully completed by women in order to reinforce their femininity. Jokes about how long women take to get ready for a date are based on the knowledge of the additional tasks women perform when getting dressed, plucking eyebrows, shaving legs, manicuring nails, applying makeup, and arranging hair (Bartky, 1998; Saltzberg & Chrisler, 2000). Women who accommodate are "inmates of the Panopticon, a self-policing subject, a self committed to relentless self- surveillance" (Bartky, 1998: 42). Body hair removal is a normative and daily ritual for many women; regardless of the effort it takes, many women participate in these daily rituals because they believe it enhances their femininity.

Visible hair, such as mustaches and chin hair, is deemed unattractive since a woman is not supposed to have facial hair (Brownmiller, 1984; Chapkis, 1986; Torrien, et.al., 2005, Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004). Women with facial hair are required to remove it in private because "having unwanted facial hair is shameful" (Freedman, 1988:222). Common rituals to achieve a smooth, hairless face are shaving and plucking. However, shaving facial hair is not popular among women because it is considered unfeminine.

Therefore, while plucking may be painful, it is probably the most common method women use to get rid of facial hair (American Family Physician, 2002). Weitz (2002) stated that women are aware of the cultural expectations regarding their bodies.

Currently, removing body hair is a normative beauty ritual for women (Toerien et.al., 2005; Tiggeman & Kenyon, 1998; Basow & Braman, 1998; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004). However, body hair on men does not have to be removed entirely. Arm, leg, underarm, and chest hair on men is considered masculine, while body hair on women is considered a flaw, unclean, and unfit for public display (Torrien, et.al.,2005). Therefore, women must keep their visible “flaws” hidden and mysterious, otherwise they will be considered unfeminine.

Resistance is the “action that not only rejects subordination but does so by challenging the ideologies that support that subordination” (Weitz, 2002: 137). Weitz states that women who adopt short rebellious hairstyles, refuse to be hairless, and/or fail to wear makeup, may be challenging the ideology that a woman’s worth depends on her attractiveness to men. Moreover, these behaviors, or lack thereof, may be trivial, but they allow the women to distance themselves in a society that will label them as inferior or subordinate. Wendy Chapkis (1986) displayed her hairy underarms and legs with defiant pride. She chose to display her identity through resistance; however, she admits that her facial hair was “unusual, unnatural, and ugly” (Chapkis, 1986: 67), making her visibly different from other women.

Negative Effects of Body Hair Removal

Previous studies have found that the majority of women expressed having what they deemed unwanted hair (Toerien et al., 2005; Tiggeman & Lewis, 2004; Basow &

Willis, 2001). Of the women sampled in Toerien et. al's (2005) British study, 85% reported removing some or all of their pubic hair and 82% reported manipulating their eyebrows. These women also reported depilation from other body locations, such as their breasts (12%), stomach (11%), arms (8%), toes (2%), and a few participants listed fingers, knuckles, hands, neck, back, feet, and nostrils. In addition, there are a variety of hair removal techniques available to women, but these techniques may have negative side effects. The most common hair removal techniques are shaving, waxing, sugaring, threading, depilatory creams, electrolysis, and laser hair removal.

According to Kwan and Trautner (2009), common reasons for initially removing leg and underarm hair are related to social norms and social acceptability (e.g., "it is the thing to do," or "women are supposed to shave"; Basow, 1991; Kwan & Trautner, 2009: 56). Although shaving is the most common way to remove unwanted hair, its effects are temporary, lasting one to three days. It is generally painless, fast, and cheap. Shaving involves using a razor and typically a moisturizing shaving cream containing ingredients that reduce skin irritation. Side effects of shaving include stubble, cuts, ingrown hair, and skin irritation (Shapiro & Lui, 2006; Lanigan, 2001).

Waxing is another hair removal process, and its effects generally last from three to eight weeks, making it a good long-term hair removal solution (Shapiro & Lui, 2006; Lanigan, 2001). Waxing involves using warm or cold wax that is applied to the skin and then quickly stripped off. It is effective but expensive, and is best suited for large areas of hair, including the legs and the pubic area (as in the Brazilian waxing process). Negative side effects include pain, ingrown hair, and scarring. Also, waxing should not

be done to irritated, sunburned, or broken skin (http://www.epigee.org/beauty/hair_removal.html).

Similar to waxing, sugaring involves a syrup-like substance made up of sugar, lemon juice, and water that is heated and subsequently turns into a ball-like shape (Tannir & Leshin, 2001). Once placed on the skin, it is flattened and stripped away. Because sugaring is made from natural ingredients, it does not stick to the skin as much, and it tends to cause less irritation than waxing (http://www.epigee.org/beauty/hair_removal.html).

According to a website regarding women's health (http://www.epigee.org/beauty/hair_removal.html), threading is an ancient hair removal technique popularized in Arabic countries, but is now becoming more popular in Western society. Threading uses a long twisted loop of thread that is rotated to create coils that trap the hair, which is pulled from the skin and broken off. Threading can lead to pain, scarring, and ingrown hair. It is an inexpensive way to remove unwanted hair, and the results last about a week; however, threading has the added benefit of causing hair to become thinner over time.

Using depilatory products is another way to get rid of unwanted hair. Depilatory products contain alkaline chemicals that dissolve hair protein, causing it to break in half (http://www.epigee.org/beauty/hair_removal.html). Depilatory products come in gel, cream, and roll-ons. This technique is not recommended for women with a lot of hair or with coarse body hair. Depilatory products should also not be used on the eyebrows, pubic area, and/or on broken or sensitive skin. Side effects include an allergic reaction to chemicals in the product, ingrown hair, and dry, itchy and sometimes burning skin.

Electrolysis is a hair removal process in which needles send an electric pulse into the hair follicle, thereby hindering future hair growth (http://www.epigee.org/beauty/hair_removal.html). This technique is especially recommended for those with more body hair as well as coarser body hair. Electrolysis is a slow process and possible side effects can include scarring, pain, and in rare cases, bacterial and viral infections.

A more recent technique is laser hair removal. It is a long-term, permanent technique, in which a laser pulse is used to destroy hair (Battle & Hobbs, 2004). However, laser hair removal can be very costly; small areas cost about \$1,000, while removing hair from the bikini area costs roughly \$1,200 (http://www.epigee.org/beauty/hair_removal.html). Laser hair removal is recommended for women with more body hair that is also coarser in texture. Possible side effects may include pain, scarring, and/or burned skin. Clearly, though the side effects of hair removal tend to be physical in nature, they generally do not hinder most women from trying to achieve hairlessness.

Like other beauty ideals, hair removal and its techniques have negative side effects that have been overlooked by individual women in the name of beauty. In addition, the potential racial-ethnic differences in the use of these techniques have been overlooked. For instance, while beauty techniques are generalized to all women, women of color are often not able to use some techniques, such as laser hair removal, because of their darker skin tone. For instance, “The absorption rate, or speed of laser energy, as well as the temperature of the skin while receiving treatment, caused hyper- and hypo-pigmentation [dark and light spots], scarring and blistering in Black skin”

(Battle & Hobbs, 2004: 177). Thus, the attitudes towards and experiences of hair removal techniques should be examined more fully.

This chapter focused on seven specific areas, including: how women mold themselves through hairlessness as a means of fitting in, a comparison of attitudes among White women and women of color towards body hair and hairlessness norms, how women do beauty for others, the possibility of women securing social rewards for looking good, the physical and mental effects associated with adhering to beauty ideals, how beauty rituals may emphasize and/or define gender for women, and the negative effects associated with common hair removal techniques. In this review of existing literature, it becomes clear that the way in which other scholars have documented women's knowledge of and adherence to specific beauty norms, as well as their experiences upholding certain beauty rituals, vary, and should be explored further. In the next chapter, three theoretical frameworks are discussed in relation to women's attitudes towards body hair and hair removal, to set the stage for this survey research project on body hair and body hair removal.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF THE BODY

Theories are explanations of relationships between or among certain facts (Curry et.al., 2005). Alternatively, theories, according to Turner (1998), can be stories about how people behave, interact, organize themselves, and seek to explain social processes. Finally, theories can be thought of as the frameworks that are used to interpret social events. Three theoretical frameworks will be used to study women's attitudes towards body hair and body hair removal. The first, Foucauldian feminism, explains how women learn to "do gender," or learn to look feminine by using body hair removal to discipline their bodies. The second framework, Symbolic Interactionism, will be used to examine how female gender role expectations about the importance of engaging in body discipline, such as body hair removal, emphasize and reinforce the importance of physical appearances. Using these two theories, this study will attempt to determine how women think about themselves and how women relate to others, individually and in a group, because of the power of hairlessness norms. Using these theories, this study can also explore how women are socialized to accommodate norms about body hair removal, and whether they continue to uphold these norms over time because of their knowledge and/or experience with social rewards for hairlessness or social consequences for hairy bodies. Finally, the use of Objectification theory will illustrate how women's bodies are characterized by their individual parts, rather than as a whole, and it is the judgment and evaluation of these individual parts that defines

women's bodies. This theory may help to analyze why women report certain types of beauty rituals over others.

Foucauldian Feminist Theories

As inferred in the last chapter, Foucauldian feminists provide theoretical accounts of the ways in which women's bodies are disciplined, and made docile and productive, in culturally specific ways (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Weitz, 2004; Balsamo, 1996; McNay, 1992; Sawicki, 1991; Trethewey, 1999). Gendered ways of performing identities (e.g., walking, working, sitting, dressing, removing body hair),

are not merely culturally relative or acquired through gender socialization, but are regimes of the body which seek to subjectify in terms of a certain truth of gender, inscribing a particular relation to oneself in a corporeal regime: prescribed, rationalized, and taught in manuals of advice, etiquette and manners and enjoined by sanctions as well as seductions. (Rose, 1996: 137)

Women learn to discipline their bodies well before they begin their adult lives. They learn as young children to control their bodies in distinctly feminine ways (Trethewey, 1999; Young, 1990; Lorber & Moore, 2007; Weitz, 2004), such as being taught to shave their body hair. Not only do women learn to “throw like a girl,” they also learn to sit, stand, walk, tilt their heads, gesture, and carry objects like a girl (Trethewey, 1999). Young girls' bodies are socialized into looking and moving in a feminine and thus more constrained manner than their male counterparts (Trethewey, 1999; Lorber & Moore, 2007). “The more a girl assumes her status as feminine, the more she takes herself to be fragile and immobile and the more she actively enacts her own body inhibition” (Young, 1990: 154). Moreover, a young woman learns to experience her body as an object, a thing. “The objectified bodily existence accounts for the self-

consciousness of the feminine in relation to her body and the resulting distance she takes from her body” (Young, 1990: 155).

Femininity, or the female subject, is created through the disciplining of the female body to make it the proper shape and display the proper gestures and movements (Bartky, 1998; Thretheway, 1999). Femininity and masculinity are socially constructed; “We are born male or female, but not masculine or feminine” (Bartky, 1998: 27). Specifically, the woman is created by the discipline she imposes on her body. Disciplinary practices, such as body hair removal, are not simply individual, aesthetic choices for women; rather, they are part of the process by which the ideal body of femininity is constructed (Bartky, 1998; Black & Sharma, 2001; Lorber & Moore, 2007; Tretheway, 1999). Women’s bodies:

are trained, shaped, and impressed with the stamp of prevailing historical forms of selfhood, desire, [and] femininity. Such an emphasis casts a dark and disquieting shadow across the contemporary scene. For women, as study after study shows are spending more time on the management and discipline of our bodies than we have in a long, long time. In a decade marked by a re-opening of the public arena to women, the intensification of such regimens appears diversionary and subverting. (Bordo, 1989: 14)

A woman’s efforts to reach an ideal body requires that she takes part in disciplinary practices, such as body hair removal, because she wants to fit in and become invisible. Attaining the ideal body becomes a matter of self-control. Thin women are rewarded for adhering to our culture’s beauty ideals by being in control and having mastered the intense discipline of dieting and exercise (Calogero et. al., 2005; Tretheway, 1999; Fingeret & Gleaves, 2004; Lorber & Moore, 2007). In Western society, overweight women are punished for their resistance of beauty ideals (Calogero et. al., 2005; Bordo, 2003; Roberts, 2004; Slater & Tiggemann, 2002). Visibly hairy

women might be punished for the same resistance. In American society, women with hairless bodies are rewarded for their self-discipline and for not violating the societal norm of hairlessness.

Women's bodies are controlled and ordered within contemporary disciplinary regimes of femininity (Bartky, 1998; Lorber & Moore, 2007; Calogero et. al., 2005; Stice, 2001). Bartky (1998) describes disciplinary practices that contribute to current sociological constructions of femininity. Women employ techniques, such as the application of makeup and the removal of body hair, that display the body as a "disciplined" surface. These disciplinary practices are transmitted primarily through standardized visual images. "We learn the rules directly through bodily discourse: through images which tell us what clothes, body shape, facial expression, movements, and behavior is required" (Bordo, 1989: 17). Women are taught how to become beautiful in order to appeal to others. For instance, women are taught to "fit into" the situation by learning to dress, apply makeup, and become hairless. Thus, femininity is constructed for most women once they "discipline" their bodies and follow the rules of femininity.

Disciplinary practices, such as body hair removal, are processes by which the ideal body of femininity is constructed (Bordo, 1989). Through these disciplinary techniques, women's bodies have become docile. As docile bodies, women "are rendered less socially oriented and more focused on self-modification" (Bordo, 1989: 14). Disciplinary regimes of femininity have consequences, because they keep women attending to their appearance (Bordo, 1989; Tretheway, 1999). Disciplinary practices cause an opposition between women (Tarvis, 1992; Lorber & Moore, 2007; Weitz,

2004). The discourses that position women in very particular ways are both self-disciplining and socially imposed. Women internalize the “panoptical gaze of the male connoisseur; women live their bodies as seen by another, by an anonymous patriarchal Other” (Bartky, 1998: 72). Women’s disciplinary techniques and/or practices, such as body hair removal, reveal a lot about a woman’s struggle within a gendered society.

Symbolic Interaction and the Body

The body is not a flesh object with skin and bones. Rather, it has symbolic meaning for its owner and to others who observe it (Canfield, 2005). People create meanings for their bodies as part of the way they experience the world. People evaluate their bodies, thinking of them as ugly or pretty, obese or thin, hairy or hairless. Social and cultural meanings are applied to the body. People incorporate the perceived attitudes of others into their self assessments. Allan Canfield states that the “presentation of self is an everyday occurrence and the body is intimately involved in these presentations” (2005: 142). People learn how to use their bodies to influence others and to respond to them.

Becoming beautiful or fitting in by disciplined behavior, such as body hair removal, is symbolic. Men and women use symbols and exist in a world of meaning created by those symbols (Canfield, 2005). Becoming beautiful by removing body hair is associated with a variety of activities, each with different meanings, including but not limited to attaining physical pleasure, having fun, creating intimacy, and exerting power (Canfield, 2005; Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michaels, 1994). The symbolic meanings associated with hairlessness affect how women think about themselves and how women relate to others, individually and in a group. "That we are sexual is

determined by a biological imperative toward reproduction, but how we are sexual--where, when, how often, with whom, and why--has to do with cultural learning, with meanings of symbols transmitted in a cultural setting" (Kimmel & Fracher, 1992: 473).

Symbols are randomly chosen and/or constructed by people. Symbols become shortcuts to meaning; although they do not have meaning in themselves, humans attach meaning to them (Canfield, 2005; Curry et.al., 2002). Humans have the ability to see their bodies, which become objects of existence (Canfield, 2005; Fontant, 1993; Duncan, 1968). People assign symbols to their bodies and attach cultural and social meanings to their bodies. Thus, bodies are symbolic, and how women discipline their bodies (e.g., by removing body hair) is based on cultural learning.

The relationship between sexual communication and gender has also been researched by symbolic interactionists. Disciplining the body, via body hair removal, is a required ritual for women; however, removing their body hair may also allow them to feel comfortable enough to initiate social relationships, such as asking someone out on a date. Researchers predominantly examine how female gender role expectations in disciplined activities, such as body hair removal, emphasize and reinforce the importance of physical appearances (Frith, 2004; Markey, 2005).

Objectification Theory

Research studies found that women, more than men, express dissatisfaction with their bodies (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Furnham, Badmin, & Sneade, 2002; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004). Body dissatisfaction has been linked to a number of negative consequences for women, including lowered self-esteem (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Markey, 2005; Richards, Caspar, & Larson, 1990), depression

(Strelan, 2005; McCreary & Sasse, 2001), excessive dieting (Strelan, 2005; Markey, 2005; Polivy & Herman, 1985), and disordered eating (Strelan, 2005; Rieder & Ruderman, 2001). One possible explanation is Fredrickson and Roberts' (1997) objectification theory. It states that Westernized societies sexually objectify the female body, allowing it to be looked at and evaluated. Increased male sexual interest and desire towards parts of a woman's body (e.g., breasts, legs, and buttocks) is known as the "male-gaze" (Bartky, 1998). Therefore, women experience objectification through constant evaluation, such as the male gaze (Lorber & Moore, 2007; Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Bartky, 1998).

Women tend to be judged on the basis of what they look like, not who they are (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005). Specifically, a hairless beauty ideal is constantly glorified and women understand that if they are to be valued by others, then they must obtain this ideal (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Objectification theory states that ongoing exposure to the sociocultural belief that women are to be judged by how they look leads women to internalize other's views of themselves. This process is referred to as self-objectification (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Self-objectification, according to these authors, refers to a process whereby women believe that they are objects or commodities to be looked at and evaluated (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Research also suggests that women are negatively influenced by the constant force of cultural messages that imply that the female body is a public domain for all to evaluate and "consume" (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Frith, 2004; Millard & Grant, 2006; Bordo, 2003; Cusumano & Thompson, 1997). Other research has found that the influence of family and peers are

responsible for a woman's self-objectification (Stice, 1994; Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005). Therefore, women learn to view their own bodies as objects.

Several researchers have examined the psychological and behavioral impact that self-objectification has on women (Strelan, 2005; Fredrickson et., al. 1998; Gapinski, Brownell, & LaFrance, 2003; McKinley & Hyde, 1996; Roberts & Gettman, 2004). Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) proposed Objectification theory as a feminist sociocultural model to conceptualize experiences unique to women and the related health issues that result from self-objectification. They state that self-objectification has several consequences that can put women at risk for experiencing certain health dysfunctions.

These authors also suggest that shame is likely to occur because women compare themselves to others (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Shame is experienced when women evaluate their own body in the face of an idealized female body. Anxiety also may develop when women are uncertain about how their bodies will be evaluated. Objectifying behavior from others thus disrupts women's daily activities.

The views of women themselves may also contribute to the objectification process. By definition, any individual who self-objectifies places an excessive emphasis on her appearance (Strelan, 2005; Markey, 2005). Objectification also involves seeing oneself as a collection of body parts. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that those who self-objectify are highly aware not only of their own appearance, but also of the appearance of others. Related research has shown that women who placed greater importance on their bodies also placed greater importance on these characteristics

when evaluating other women (Toerien et. al., 2005; Klomsten, 2004; Roberts, 2004). Women who self-objectify are more likely to objectify others, particularly other women.

Fredrickson and Roberts' (1997) conceptual framework also offers implications across the lifespan of women. They suggest that during mid-life, women have the chance to move out of the "objectification limelight" and reclaim an inner connection with their bodies. During mid-life, women may encounter situations or environments in which they feel less pressure to conform to societal ideals of beauty, and thus have the opportunity to distance themselves from objectification and subsequently experience fewer negative consequences of objectification (Strelan, 2005; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Previous research has found that younger women report higher levels of objectification and self-surveillance than do older women (Strelan, 2005; Toerien et. al., 2005; Tiggemann & Lynch, 2001; McKinley, 1999). Related research has also found that middle-aged women report fewer body image-related concerns than do college age women, which may suggest less objectification (Weitz, 2004; Toerien et. al., 2005; McKinley, 1999; Strelan, 2005). Nevertheless, previous research indicates a direct relationship between objectification, age, and disciplining the body (Slater & Tiggemann, 2002). Thus, objectification attitudes and age may be factors that influence body hair removal.

This study attempts to examine whether social background characteristics (e.g., race, age, religion, socioeconomic status, employment status, and relationship status), bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms influence the extent of body hair removal from public/private areas. This study also tries to apply

the three theories outlined above, Foucauldian feminism, symbolic interaction, and Objectification theory, to try to make sense of the effects of these factors and contexts of women's body hair removal attitudes and practices. While it was not always possible to test these theories directly, they provide an important feminist and sociological backdrop for the hypotheses proposed in Chapter Four, and guide this work's conclusions about the results presented in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Earlier discussions of the literature on beauty norms and women's attitudes and practices of hairlessness (see Chapter Two) suggest that most women discipline or shape their bodies in order to adhere to White, Western beauty norms (Hall, 2005; De Casanova, 2004; Badillo, 2001). This literature, as well as the theories presented in this study and other studies (see Chapter Three), reinforce the importance of analyzing the actual bodily practices that women use to adhere to these norms, and point to the importance of studying body hair removal for women in general (Toerien et. al., 2005; Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008). Thus, this study attempted to assess female students' attitudes towards and decisions about hairlessness to expand the understanding of women's adherence to beauty norms and the body work that they engage in over their lifetimes. The initial goals of this study were to compare women who remove body hair ("removers") to women who do not remove body hair ("non-removers"), and to investigate whether, why, and how women from diverse backgrounds adhered to hairlessness norms. However, after recruiting a sample of female participants who primarily remove their body hair (and surveying very few non-removers as a result), and upon completion of some early data analyses, it became clear that the hypotheses originally proposed for this study were no longer testable. Subsequently, the original goals and hypotheses of this study were modified to fit with the data collected. Specific changes to this study's goals and hypotheses are detailed below.

A Change in Research Goals

The original research goal included an examination of whether social background characteristics (i.e., race, age, religion, political beliefs, employment status, socioeconomic status, and relationship status), attitudes towards beauty/body hair and other reported bodily routines, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms influence women's body hair removal. The original research goal of comparing the motivations behind whether or not removers and non-removers adhered to hairlessness norms was modified because a sample composed primarily of removers was collected, and it became impossible to examine the differences between removers and non-removers, as the original goal stated. Therefore, the revised research goal of this study acknowledges that the vast majority of the participants in this study is removers, and examines whether social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards, and socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of body hair removal from public/private body areas. The research examines whether there are social contexts and/or differences among women that influence the number of public or private bodily areas from which women depilate. All hypotheses had to be revised to accommodate this study's new research goal. The revised hypotheses focus on the extent of depilation from public/private areas as a result. In the next section, the original research hypotheses are outlined.

Hypotheses

In Chapter Two, many variables were identified as influences on women's body hair removal attitudes and practices. Based on this literature, a series of testable hypotheses were constructed and presented in the proposal for this study. The original main or overarching hypothesis in this study (H_1) was that: (1) social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) beauty routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms all affect women's body hair removal.

In addition, 21 sub-hypotheses were developed to further assess the main hypothesis and three sets of independent variables (bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness). Figure 1 illustrates the original hypothesized relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Each of the original 21 sub-hypotheses is presented below.

Social background hypotheses.

- H_2 : Caucasian women are more likely to remove their body hair than women of color.
- H_3 : Younger women are more likely to remove their body hair than older women.
- H_4 : Women with liberal political beliefs are more likely to remove their body hair than women with more conservative political beliefs.
- H_5 : Women with higher family incomes are more likely to remove their body

hair than women with lower family incomes.

- H₆: Women's employment status (i.e., the type of job/occupation they hold) will affect whether women remove their body hair.
- H₇: Women who are single or without a significant other/partner are more likely to remove their body hair than women who are married or engaged in an intimate relationship.

Bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty norms/hairlessness norms.

- H₈: Women who perceive body hair as unfeminine are more likely to remove their body hair than women who perceive body hair as feminine.
- H₉: Women who perceive body hair as unattractive are more likely to remove their body hair than women that perceive body hair as attractive.
- H₁₀: Women who report taking part in beauty routines other than body hair removal (e.g., those who report regular routines regarding makeup, skin care, or head hair) are more likely to remove their body hair than women who do not report taking part in other beauty routines.
- H₁₁: Women who report wearing skirts or other revealing clothing will be more likely to report removing body hair.

Hypotheses regarding knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences.

- H₁₂: Women who report knowledge of and/or past experience with social rewards for hairlessness will report removing hair more frequently than women who do not have this knowledge and/or experience.
- H₁₃: Women who report knowledge of and/or past experience with negative

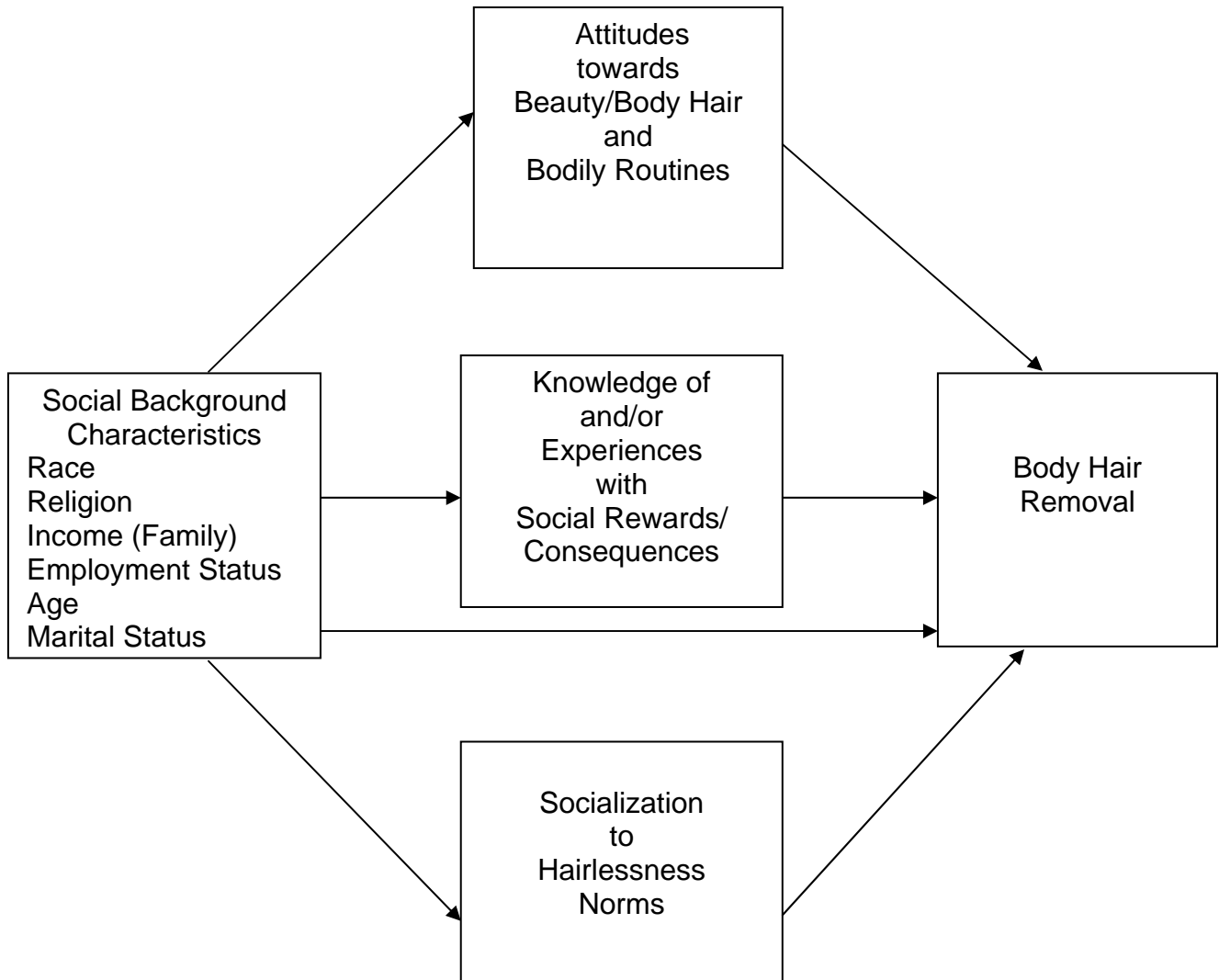
sanctions towards hairy bodies will report removing hair more frequently than women who do not have this knowledge and/or experience.

- H₁₄: Women will report removing public/visible body hair (e.g., hair on legs) more often than private/hidden body hair (e.g., hair from pubic area).
- H₁₅: Women who think that others notice their hairy/hairless bodies will be more likely to remove their body hair than those women who do not think that others notice their body hair.

Hypotheses regarding socialization and other attitudes.

- H₁₆: Women who report negative attitudes towards body hair will be more likely to remove body hair than women who report positive attitudes towards body hair.
- H₁₇: Women who perceive body hair as unnatural are more likely to remove their body hair than women who perceive body hair as natural.
- H₁₈: Women who perceive body hair as dirty will report removing their body hair.
- H₁₉: Women's socialization to hairlessness norms will affect women's current removal practices.
- H₂₀: Women who believe that hygiene is important will report negative attitudes about body hair.
- H₂₁: Women who believe that hygiene is important will report removing body hair frequently.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model (Original)



As previously mentioned, the sample collected for this study consisted primarily of removers, and thus, this limitation would not allow for statistical comparisons of removers and non-removers. Because this study could only analyze the women who reported removing their body hair, this study's goals and hypotheses were reevaluated once these demographics were understood. Thus, all hypotheses were revised to comprise an assessment of removers' depilation from public/private body areas. The following presents the revised research goals and 21 hypotheses.

Hypotheses (Revised)

As discussed, the main hypothesis (H_1) was revised and made into three separate hypotheses that highlight the extent of removers' depilation from public/private body areas, and the number of depilatory methods used. The first hypothesis (now $H_{1.1}$) states that (1) women's social background characteristics (e.g., race, age, relationship status, income (both individual and family), political beliefs, employment status; (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair; (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences; and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of body hair removal from public body areas. It was also hypothesized ($H_{1.2}$) that (1) social background characteristics (e.g., race, age, relationship status, income (both individual and family), political beliefs, employment status; (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair; (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences; and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of body hair removal from private body areas. The third main hypothesis ($H_{1.3}$) examined whether (1) social background characteristics (e.g., race, age, relationship status, income (both individual and family), political beliefs,

employment status; (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair; (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences; and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the number of depilatory methods women used. This variable was included in the final analysis as a way to help future researchers study this topic in a different way. In addition, it was not included in bivariate analyses as a way to avoid spurious relationships in this study. The 21 sub-hypotheses were revised and utilized to further assess the three main hypotheses and the sets of independent variables representing social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms (see Figure 2). Each sub-hypothesis is presented below.

Social background hypotheses.

- H₂: Caucasian women are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women of color.
- H₃: Younger women are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than older women.
- H₄: Women with liberal political beliefs are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women with conservative political beliefs.
- H₅: Women with higher incomes are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women with lower incomes.
- H₆: Women who are employed are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who are unemployed.

- H₇: Women who are single or without a significant other/partner are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who are in intimate relationships.

Bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair.

- H₈: Women who perceive body hair as unfeminine are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who perceive body hair as feminine.
- H₉: Women who perceive body hair as unattractive are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who perceive body hair as attractive.
- H₁₀: Women who report negative attitudes towards body hair are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who report positive attitudes towards body hair.
- H₁₁: Women who perceive body hair as unnatural are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who perceive body hair as natural.
- H₁₂: Women who report taking part in regular bodily routines other than body hair removal are likely to report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not report taking part in other bodily routines.
- H₁₃: Women who report wearing skirts or other revealing clothing are likely to report removing hair from more public/private body sites than women who do not report wearing revealing clothing.
- H₁₄: Women who report dieting or worrying about body weight are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not report engaging in weight maintenance.

- H₂₀¹: University women who believe that hygiene is important will report negative attitudes about body hair.
- H₂₁: University women who believe that hygiene is important will report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not report that hygiene is important.

Knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences.

- H₁₅: Women who report knowledge of and/or past experience with social rewards for hairlessness will report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not have this knowledge and/or experience.
- H₁₆: Women who report knowledge of and/or past experience with negative sanctions towards hairy bodies will report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not have this knowledge and/or experience.
- H₁₇: Women will report removing more public/visible body areas than private/hidden body areas.
- H₁₈: Women who think that others notice their hairy/hairless bodies are likely to remove body hair from more public/private areas than women who do not think that others notice their body hair.

Socialization to hairlessness norms.

- H₁₉: Women's socialization to hairlessness norms will affect women's current removal practices from public/private body areas.

In the description of results in Chapter Five, only the revised hypotheses will be discussed, because the revised hypotheses are more testable than the original

¹ Hypotheses 20 and 21 were moved alongside the other attitude-based hypotheses (8-14)

hypotheses given the sample for this study. The following sections present, a description of the dependent variables which are the extent of public depilation, the extent of private depilation, and the number of depilatory methods used, in addition to a description of the independent variables.

Dependent Variables

Initially, this study was to reveal the factors that influence whether or not women remove their body hair while utilizing the dependent variable, “Do you currently remove your body hair” (yes/no) (see Appendix C question 29). However, only 12 participants replied “no” to the question, and therefore, there was too small a number of women who did not remove their body hair at the time of the survey. These 12 survey respondents were eliminated from any further analysis, and this dissertation changed its focus to examine the attitudes and behaviors of the 291 female participants who removed their body hair at the time of the survey. Consequently, an original dependent variable consisted of women’s responses of whether they removed body hair from 25 different areas of the body, but this variable masked the potential findings about the visibility/invisibility of body hair. Thus, after numerous analyses of women’s responses about individual body parts, it was found that women’s hair removal largely depends on where the body part is located (e.g., eyebrows vs. bikini area) (see Chapter 5). Thus, a decision was made to analyze women’s removal practices from public/visible and private/hidden body areas separately. One survey question was utilized in the creation of the two main dependent variables which are the extent of depilation from public/private body areas, and one question was utilized in the creation of the third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods used (see questions 34 and 35 in

Appendix C); these dependent variables focused on the extent of hair removal from different areas of the body, and the number of hair removal methods participants used.

The first dependent variable analyzed in this dissertation is a count variable comprised of the total number of affirmative responses to questions about the public/visible areas of the body from which women remove hair. This dependent variable (the extent of women's removal from public/visible body areas) consists of the following 13 body areas: hairline, forehead, eyebrows, upper lip, chin, ears, nose, neck, arms (upper and/or lower), underarms, hands (and/or fingers), legs (upper and/or lower), and feet (and/or toes). The second dependent variable is a similar variable, yet comprises a count of women's responses about whether they remove hair from private/hidden body areas. This dependent variable (the extent of women's removal from private/hidden body areas) consists of women's responses about hair removal from the remaining 12 body areas: shoulders, chest, breasts/nipples, back (upper), back (lower), stomach, buttocks, bikini line, more than bikini line but less than whole pubic area, pubic area but left a strip, patch, triangle, or other shape, whole pubic area, and whole pubic and anal area. The third dependent variable (the number of depilatory methods used) is an exploratory variable, which is utilized in multivariate analyses only. This variable is comprised of the affirmative responses to questions about the use of 12 different hair removal methods: a regular razor, an electric razor, electric clippers, creams/chemical depilatories, home waxing, salon waxing, sugaring, threading, tweezing, trimming, laser hair removal, and electrolysis. However, this third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods used, was eliminated from bivariate analyses, as it was unclear how different this variable is from the variables that measure

the extent of hair removal from certain body areas. For instance, if respondents removed hair from their eyebrows they also indicated that they utilized tweezers, if they indicated removing hair from their legs they also indicated using shaving razors, and if they removed hair from their eyebrows and bikini area they indicated waxing these areas. Therefore, this dependent variable was eliminated from bivariate analyses because it may be duplicating the results on whether participants in this sample are removing hair from public and/or private body areas.

Initial univariate, crosstabulation, t-test, correlation, and bivariate regression analyses were conducted to evaluate women's responses about whether they removed hair from the 25 body parts individually, and then these responses were related to and/or affected by certain social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms. The extent to which these independent variables affected the dependent variables used in this dissertation was eventually measured primarily via t-tests (a comparison of means), correlations, and multivariate regression procedures as well. Thus, while numerous other statistical analyses were completed, only the most relevant and clear results are presented in this dissertation.

Independent Variables

Ten independent indicators measure women's social background characteristics: age, race, religion, relationship status, individual income, family income, political beliefs, sexual orientation, residence, and employment status. The first variable, age, indicates the respondents' age in years. The second independent variable was race, either

Caucasian, Hispanic/Latina, Asian American/ Pacific Islander, Black/African American, Native American, Arabic, or other. The variable measuring religion indicates whether the participants' affiliations were Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Orthodox, Agnostic, Atheist, or other. The variable about relationship status asked respondents to select their status from eight different categories: single, married, divorced, cohabiting, engaged, separated/widowed, dating, or other. "Socioeconomic status" was measured by two variables: individual income and family income, both of which both ranged from zero to above 71,000 dollars. The variable of political beliefs, measured participants' characterizations of their political stances: very conservative, conservative, neutral, liberal, or very liberal. Sexual orientation was measured by asking participants whether they were heterosexual, lesbian, bisexual, or other. Participants' residential location was measured with the following nine categories: "I live in a dormitory at Wayne State University," "I rent an apartment or house with close friends," "I rent an apartment or house with a partner/husband/significant other," "I rent an apartment or house and live alone," "I own a condo, townhouse or house and live there with close friends," "I own a condo, townhouse or house and live there alone," "I own a condo, townhouse or house and live there with my partner/husband/significant other/kids," "I live at home with my parents," and "other." Finally, the independent variable, employment status, indicated how much time participants put into paid work: full-time, part-time, temporary/seasonal, odd jobs, or other.

In addition to social background characteristics, there are several other groups of independent variables that aim to test the hypotheses outlined earlier. The first of these is a group of variables that evaluate university women's bodily routines as well as their

attitudes towards beauty and body hair. The next group of independent variables represents an assessment of women's knowledge of and/or experience with the potential social rewards/consequences for hairlessness/hairy bodies, and/or the positive and negative social experiences women associate with the presence or absence of body hair. Lastly, a group of independent variables that measure women's socialization to hairlessness norms, or the number of socializing agents that participants felt was responsible for teaching them about body hair removal were utilized. Each of these groups of independent variables is outlined below.

University women's bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair.

There are seven sub-hypotheses related to the group of 25 independent variables that measure women's adherence to certain bodily routines and/or their attitudes towards beauty and body hair (see the revised hypotheses presented earlier in this chapter). The first two independent variables within this group record women's responses to questions about whether body hair removal is feminine. Participants responded to the questions "Hair removal makes me feel feminine" and "I remove my body hair to avoid looking masculine," using Likert scale categories (i.e., strongly disagree to strongly agree). Three other independent variables, "Having body hair is unattractive," "Having body hair is attractive," and "Having body hair is beautiful," assessed participants' perceptions about whether body hair is attractive, also using the same Likert scale response categories. In later analysis, these three independent variables, "I remove my body hair to avoid looking masculine," "I feel feminine when I remove my body hair," and "Having body hair is unattractive," represent women's

appearance-related attitudes and behaviors. Appearance-related behaviors are defined in this dissertation as the thoughts and actions taken around appearance (i.e., the thoughts and actions surrounding the way university women look, dress, and how they carry themselves in front of other people).

Ten other independent variables allow us to focus participants' other specific bodily routines (that is, excluding hair removal). Survey questions included, "Did you go to a professional hairstylist in the past year?" "Did you wear any facial makeup in the past year?" "Did you get manicures in the past year?" "Did you get pedicures in the past year?" and "Do you engage in daily skin care routines?" These questions have dichotomous response categories (yes/no) and represent independent variables for this study. A new independent variable was created from these five independent variables, as responses to these variables were added together to represent a count variable that could describe women's other bodily routines. Survey questions about clothing preferences (also with dichotomous response categories (yes/no)) were asked as well, and represent additional independent variables that suggest bodily routines: "Do you wear sleeveless blouses/shirts in the summer?" "Do you wear knee-length and/or miniskirts on a regular basis?" "Do you wear bathing suits in the summer?" "Do you wear shorts in the summer?" and "Do you wear open-toed shoes in the summer?" focus on participants' clothing routines. A new variable was computed using these five independent variables, so that one count variable could represent the affirmative responses to these clothing-related questions.

Other survey questions assessed participants' bodily routines related to thinness/weight concerns, and other general health concerns. The first two questions

were dichotomous (yes/no) and asked participants “Do you diet?” and “Do you worry about your weight/body size?” A third question asked, “How important is it that your body be thin?” The remaining two questions asked participants about their attitudes towards their physical health and their physical appearance more generally: “How important is your physical appearance?” and “How important is your physical health?”

Five questions also examined negative attitudes towards body hair, both visible and hidden, and asked whether “Having body hair is disgusting,” “annoying,” “unattractive,” “embarrassing,” and “ugly.” Finally, two questions assessed participants’ attitudes about whether “Having body hair is unnatural” or “natural.” All five of these questions also utilized Likert-type response categories. An additive independent variable was computed to represent the reported number of negative attitudes towards body hair by adding together the following Likert scale variables (e.g., 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree): “Having body hair is disgusting,” “Having body hair is annoying,” “Having body hair is unnatural,” and “Having body hair is unattractive.” This independent variable represents the number of negative attitudes participants reported towards body hair.

The final two sub-hypothesis (H_{20} and H_{21}) stated that participants’ hygiene-related attitudes influence participants’ reports of negative attitudes about body hair and the extent of hair removal from public/private body areas. The independent variable, “How important to you is your hygiene?” assesses participants’ attitudes about their hygiene using a seven point scale ranging from not important to very important. “Having body hair is unclean,” is another independent variable examining participants’ hygiene attitudes using a Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). The last

independent variable, “I look cleaner without body hair,” measures participants’ hygiene attitudes with Likert scale responses from strongly disagree to strongly agree.² In later analyses, the variable, “How important to you is your hygiene?” represents participants’ hygiene-related attitudes.

Knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences.

There are four sub-hypotheses associated with the group of 14 independent variables that evaluate women’s knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences. These independent variables examine participants’ reported knowledge of and/or past experience with social incentives or positive effects for hair removal (e.g., social rewards such as being asked out on dates, being hired, and achieving professional credibility), and negative sanctions for hairy bodies (e.g. social consequences such as being teased for having body hair, experiencing family pressure to remove body hair, and having a partner or significant other desire body hair removal). Sub-hypothesis 15 assessed participants’ past experience and/or knowledge of social rewards for hairlessness. Survey questions included, “Do most of your friends remove their body hair?” “Would you go out socializing without removing your body hair?” “Would you go to work without removing your body hair?” “Do you think removing body hair has ever affected your life in a positive way?” and “Do you think others notice your body hair when you do not remove it?” This latter question was also utilized to assess sub-hypothesis 18. These questions have dichotomous response categories (yes/no)

² As mentioned above, the three independent variables measuring women’s hygiene-related attitudes are numbered as hypotheses 20 and 21, but appear with other hypotheses on women’s attitudes (hypotheses 8-14).

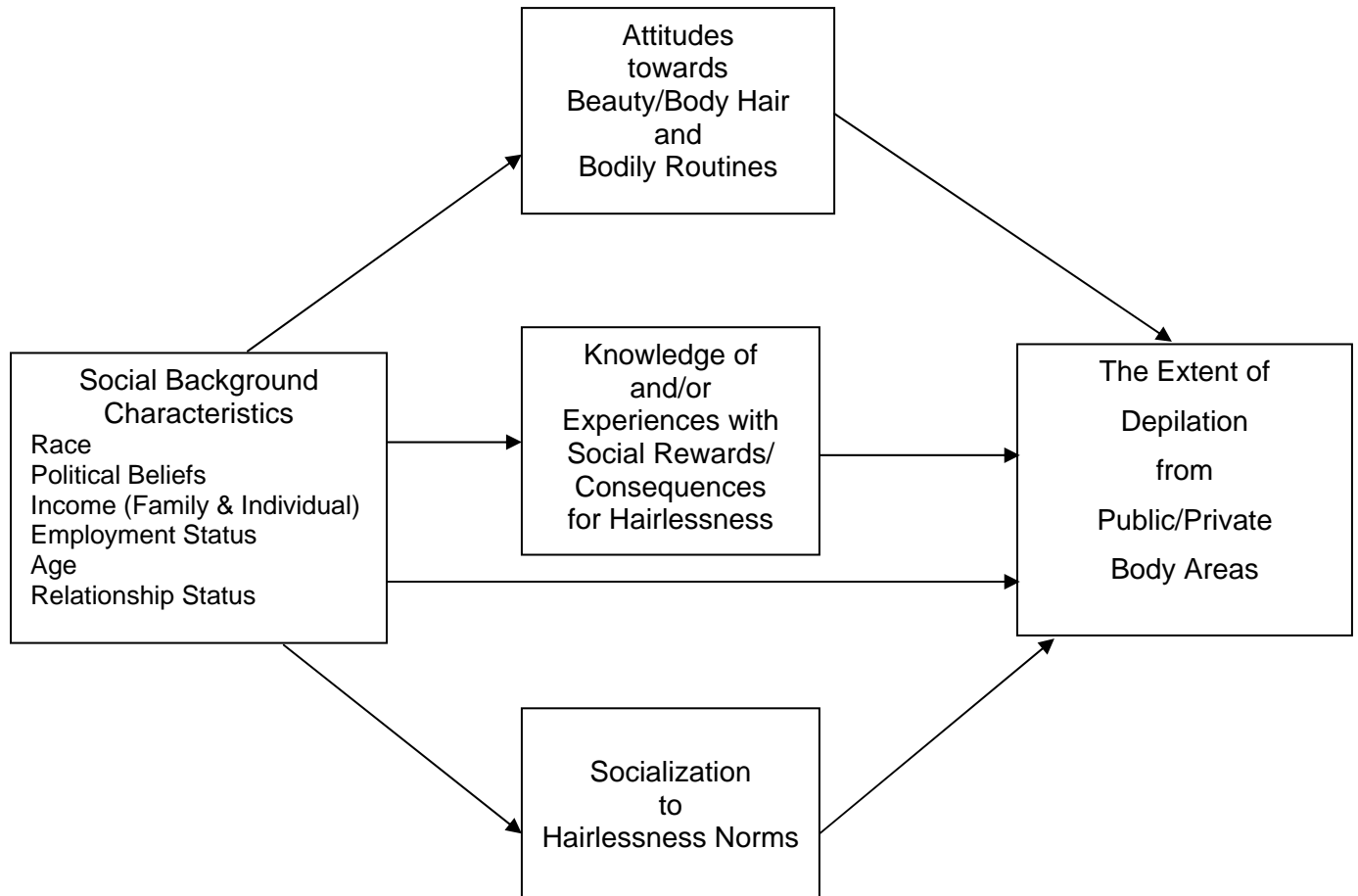
and all represent separate independent variables. These five variables were later grouped together (and tested via factor analyses) to represent the concept “social rewards.” This index variable is described in more detail later in this work.

Nine independent variables also existed to measure participants’ past experiences with and/or knowledge of negative sanctions (consequences) for hairy bodies (see sub-hypothesis 16). Thus, participants responded to the questions, “Having body hair is embarrassing” (yes/no), and “Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair?” (yes/no). Questions using Likert scale response categories (strongly disagree to strongly agree), also examined participants’ exposure to and/or knowledge of negative sanctions. Questions include, “I remove my body hair because I want to avoid teasing/attracting negative attention,” “There is family pressure to remove my body hair,” “My partner/significant other wants me to remove my body hair,” “Male friends want me to remove my body hair,” and “Female friends want me to remove my body hair.” Two questions also asked, “Is it important that others notice your hair free body?” (yes/no) and “Do you hide your body hair removal practices?” (yes/no). Each represents separate independent variables. These variables were later grouped together (and tested via factor analyses) to represent the concept “social consequences.” This index variable is described in more detail later in this paper.

Sub-hypothesis 17 states that participants will report removing hair from more public/visible body areas than private/hidden body areas. This sub-hypothesis will be tested by comparing the average number of public areas the participants reported depilating to the average number of private body areas they reported depilating.

Socialization to hairlessness norms.

There is one sub-hypothesis (H_{19}) associated with women's socialization to hairlessness norms. For bivariate analyses, seventeen independent variables (all with dichotomous response categories (yes/no)) were created from one question that asked participants, "Who taught you body hair removal practices?" These variables separately investigated the behaviors between participants' socialization to hairlessness norms and the extent of depilation from public/private areas. In multivariate analyses, these seventeen variables were modified to represent three separate independent variables measuring socialization by other women, socialization by men, and socialization by the media. Socialization by other women (the extent of female socialization) is a count variable created to represent the total number of affirmative responses about whether other female family members taught the participants to remove their body hair: mother, myself, sister, aunt, grandmother, female friends, niece, and female cousins. Socialization by men (the extent of male socialization) is a count variable created to represent the total number of affirmative responses about whether males taught the participants to remove their body hair: father, brother, uncle, grandfather, and nephew. Finally, the counted variable media socialization consists of the total number of affirmative responses about learning to remove body hair by watching TV, reading magazines, and/or browsing the Internet. Socialization to hairlessness norms (female, male, and media) is measured to see whether it correlates with and/or affects women's current removal from public/private body areas.

Figure 2: Conceptual Model (Revised)³

³ The dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods, was purposely left off of this model, because of the chance for spuriousness.

Instrument and Procedure

Survey research provides efficiency in time and cost and is considered an appropriate method for researching self-reported beliefs, behaviors, or attitudes towards social phenomena (Neuman, 1999). Survey research is important in this area not only because information can be collected directly by asking participants to answer a number of questions, but data can be obtained by observing people in a comfortable setting. Survey research gives women the chance to be *heard* as opposed to being *seen* first. Women of color have typically been left out of research on the body and beauty ideals, and research findings based on White participants have often been generalized to all women (Poran, 2002; Zinn, 1990; Basow, 1991). Overall, few researchers have explored women of color's attitudes and experiences with the dominant "White" beauty standard (Parker et. al., 1995; Landrine et. al., 1992). Survey research can quickly collect information from a large and diverse population. A cross-sectional survey research design was used in this study; participants filled out one questionnaire with both open-ended and closed-ended questions.

The questionnaire consisted of 103 questions. Closed-ended questions produced standardized data that could be analyzed statistically with a better chance of being reliable or consistent over time (Fink, 2003). Open-ended questions were also included because respondents' own words give them voice and add richness that may help in understanding university women's attitudes towards hairlessness (Patten, 2001). Questions on certain topics were purposely asked multiple times throughout the questionnaire, specifically to improve internal reliability (Fink, 2003).

The questionnaire was divided into five categories: appearance-related (27 questions), body hair attitudes and routines (27 questions), effects of body hair removal (21 questions), more attitudes about body hair (12 questions), and demographics (16 questions). These categories and questions were designed in an attempt to gain an understanding of six underlying concepts: whether and how they try to fit in to American society, whether women feel better about themselves after they have conformed to hairlessness ideals, whether women feel that their attempts at beauty and femininity via hairlessness result in tangible economic or social benefits, whether becoming beautiful is only accomplished because they want to be accepted by other people, why some women resist beauty ideals, and what women gain from adherence/resistance to hairlessness norms. Overall, these categories and questions further assessed participants' bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms.

The development and pilot testing of the survey.

The questionnaire was developed based on a review of the literature and in collaboration with members of the dissertation committee. It was pilot-tested at Wayne State University during May 2007, to refine wording and definitions, test the measures for reliability and internal consistency, and establish face and construct validity (Creswell, 1994). Pilot-testing was necessary because the questionnaire was self-created and the term "hairlessness" may have elicited different interpretations from the respondents. The sample for the pilot-test was 78 male and female students enrolled in a second year Social Problems class at Wayne State University. The pilot sample

respondents were Caucasian (83.6%), females (74.5%), aged 19 to 25 years (75.5%). This pilot sample is not included as part of the main sample.

Following pilot-testing, 11 female students were asked to critically assess the questionnaire and provide feedback or commentary. The 11 respondents were first asked, generally, what they thought about the questionnaire. Some feedback included, “This was way too long,” “Too many open-ended questions,” “I do not remove my body hair, so this really didn’t apply to me,” “This was too personal,” “I didn’t know if I should include all the hair on my body when responding,” and “I thought hairlessness was an illness.” The questionnaire was edited to correct some issues related to these comments. Importantly, questions were reordered so that the first set of questions related to general appearance (issues less personal than ones that followed), and a section of questions were added for participants who do not remove their body hair.

The second question asked of the pilot-test group was, “How did you come up with your answers?” Many of the students stated that they just went through and read each question and answered without giving any thought to their answers. Two of the respondents had a hard time defining the term “hairlessness,” as to them it evoked a negative connotation. They explained that this term was a private issue to them, or that it was associated with an illness or health condition, so each answer required a lot of thought and guessing, because categories such as “don’t know” and “not applicable” were missing. In order to respond to these concerns, response categories, such as “don’t know” and “not applicable” were added where appropriate on the final survey.

Finally, the pilot-test group was asked, “What do the terms ‘body hair’ and ‘hairlessness’ mean to you?” The term hairlessness elicited many different responses

such as “an illness,” “a private matter,” “Something women try to achieve because having hair all over is not right,” “Having hair is gross,” and “Not having hair means you are sick.” As for the term body hair, many of the students included the hair on the top of their head when answering the questionnaire. Questions that did not elicit the same interpretation from all respondents were identified and then modified or eliminated (Creswell, 1994). In order to elicit the same reaction from all of the respondents, the term body hair was defined throughout the questionnaire as “Body hair is any hair on your body besides the hair on your head.” The term hairless and hairlessness were removed from the questionnaire and replaced with the term “body hair removal.”

Questions that were confusing or unclear were revised. Some negative phrasing was changed to positive because some pre-test respondents answered incorrectly to negatively phrased questions (they failed to see the word "not" in the statement). In one question where this occurred, the word was underlined. Questions containing negative scales (“Never” to “Always”) were phrased positively (“Always to Never”), because negative phrasing made the response complicated and the respondent confused. Four questions were eliminated because respondents reported frustration due to redundancy. (These eliminated questions were deemed unnecessary for reliability checks). Double-barreled questions were eliminated. One respondent reported difficulty with visually determining where to place the “check” on the paper next to the scaled items, so the spacing was increased between the response categories and more space was added between questions. Two pilot study respondents asked why it was necessary to ask their race and indicated that this might be offensive to some respondents, but it was

determined that race is a standard demographic question, and this question was left in the final survey.

The pilot-testing process helped to further refine wording of questions on the survey and improve the future reliability and validity of questions. However, the length of the questionnaire was not reduced, and this may have caused some problems with completion of the final survey, since many of the open-ended questions were not completed by individual participants in the main sample. However, no further difficulties were identified in the pretest process.

Sample and sampling technique.

Convenience sampling procedures were used to secure the sample for this dissertation. Participants were recruited specifically from Wayne State University (WSU) sociology classes. Wayne State University is a largely commuter, urban, national research institute in Detroit, Michigan. The demographic profile of Wayne State University (WSU), whose students make up the sampling frame for this study, indicates that WSU students are diverse in age and background. For instance, as of fall 2007, a population of 33,240 students attended Wayne State University (www.wayne.edu/about/students.php). More specifically, basic demographics for the WSU undergraduate population revealed that there were more female students (19,405 or 60%) than male students (13,835 or 40%) enrolled at this university (at the time of this study). In addition, student enrollment by race/ethnicity in fall 2007 was primarily White, non-Hispanic (16,449), Black/African American (8,664), Asian/Pacific Islander (2,167), Hispanic (767), and American Indian/Alaskan Native (138). It is important to note that “unknown” (2,177) was a frequently reported racial/ethnic category within this

general sample profile. In addition, 2,878 students were identified as “non-resident aliens” during this time (www.wayne.edu/about/students.php). In addition, WSU’s student body is comprised of students of traditional college age (median age of 21 years), eight percent live on campus, and average earnings from on-campus employment are \$2,481 (<http://tinyurl.com/yhs6463>). From the total population, there were 21,145 students enrolled in undergraduate studies. More specifically, basic descriptive results indicated that 12,645 undergraduate students were enrolled full-time and 8,500 undergraduate students were enrolled part-time at WSU during the time of this study (www.wayne.edu/about/students.php).

For the purposes of this study, different and unique attitudes about female body hair and body hair removal were needed, and with WSU’s diverse undergraduate population, varied attitudes were anticipated. The target sample size for the final study was 300, and a sample total of 303 female students volunteered to participate; thus, recruitment goals were reached. Female students were the focus of this study because previous research suggests that women are more likely than men to adhere to beauty norms (Toerien et.al, 2005; Tiggemann & Lewis, 2004; Basow, 1991). A follow-up study may want to include a sub-sample of men, to test if there are gender differences in the findings.

This study was approved by the Department of Sociology and Human Investigations (HIC) (see Appendix A) at Wayne State University in May 2007. Following HIC approval, professors who were teaching undergraduate sociology courses were contacted via email or telephone to arrange a face-to-face meeting. At these meetings, the purpose of the study was explained and access to class time was

requested in order to recruit female participants. Once permission was granted, the author appeared on the agreed-upon day at the beginning of class, introduced herself, and explained to students that she was conducting a study about women's attitudes toward body hair and body hair removal. Female students were then asked to complete a questionnaire that took approximately 20 to 30 minutes to finish. The information sheet (Appendix B) attached to the questionnaire (Appendix C) was read to participants, and it was explained that completion of the questionnaire was voluntary and that filling out the questionnaire was evidence of their consent to participate. Before participants began completing the questionnaire, it was restated that their decision to participate would not affect their grade in any way, and their identity would be anonymous as no identifying information was recorded on the survey.

Data were collected from students enrolled in various course sections of Introduction to Sociology, Social Problems, Marriage and the Family, Introduction to Criminal Justice, and Outsiders and Deviance, at Wayne State. Questionnaires were distributed to female participants primarily during morning to early afternoon classes. Recruitment began during a spring semester (May to June 2007); 40 questionnaires were completed within two sociology classes during this term. During the summer semester (June to August 2007), another 40 questionnaires were collected in two classes during this term. One hundred and sixty female students from eight classes completed the questionnaire during the fall semester (September to December 2007). A final 63 women from three classes completed the questionnaire during the next winter semester (January to April 2008). In total, 303 women enrolled in 15 classes completed the questionnaire over a 10 month period between May 2007 and March 2008.

Data Analysis

Data from this study were entered into The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS v.15 and v.17) for analysis. Initial examination of the variables included descriptive statistics, bivariate analyses, and independent sample t-tests. Bivariate analyses examined the association of independent variables among themselves (i.e., social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms). These independent variables also were measured for their association and effect on the areas from which women remove hair (from where, and whether from public versus private body areas).

Bivariate correlation and crosstabulation techniques were run on the associations between individual variables. Then tests of the difference in means (t-tests) and linear regression (OLS) analyses (both bivariate and multivariate) were conducted to test the exact relationship between social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms and the extent of women's body hair removal from public/private body areas. The t-test assesses whether the means of two groups are statistically different from each other (Hays, 1988). According to the author, this technique can be used even if the sample sizes are very small (e.g., as small as 10; some researchers claim that it is possible to use t-tests on even smaller sample sizes), as long as the variables are normally distributed within each group and the variation of scores in the two groups is not reliably different (Hays, 1988). The normality assumption was evaluated by looking at the distribution of the

data via histograms. The equality of variances assumption was verified with the Levene's test and for this dissertation the standard two-tailed t-test probability was reported (Hays, 1988). For these analyses, the t-test also was utilized because the dependent variables are count variables, and therefore considered continuous, interval-level variables. In addition, most of the independent variables response categories were collapsed from Likert scale categories to dichotomous response categories. Therefore, with these data modifications, the t-test requirements were satisfied. The purpose of these analyses was to investigate the relationships between the independent variables (e.g., participants' background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms) and the two main dependent variables which are the extent of women's depilation from public/private areas.

Multivariate regression analysis is a multivariate statistical procedure that describes and tests the existence of predictable relationships among a set of variables (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). Multiple regression analysis is often utilized when there are several independent variables and there is interest in determining the best combination of predictors for an identified outcome. The primary purpose of this procedure is the development of an equation that can be used for predicting values on some dependent variables for members of a population (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). For these analyses, linear regression (OLS) is the most advanced multivariate statistical procedure used because the dependent variables (public/visible body areas and private/hidden body areas) are counted variables, and thus, continuous interval-level variables.

In addition, several sets of bivariate regressions were conducted to assess the relationships between the sets of independent variables related to beauty routines, clothing routines, knowledge/experience with social rewards and social consequences, the three socialization variables, and the three dependent variables (see Tables 14-16 in Appendix H), but the findings were not presented because they duplicated results of t-tests and correlation techniques. Thus, bivariate regression results are not reported in this dissertation. In the next chapter, univariate, bivariate, and multivariate results are presented in relation to the four sets of independent variables (i.e., social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes to beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms) and two main dependent variables (the extent of public area depilation and the extent of private area depilation). In later analyses, the findings related to third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods utilized, and all the independent variables are discussed.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

A total of 303 female students participated in this study of women's depilatory practices. The majority of female students (291 or 96%) reported that they engaged in practices (e.g., shaving, plucking, waxing, etc.) to remove hair from various locations of their bodies (e.g., facial, midsection, and lower body areas); however, 12 female students in this study (4%) reported that they did not engage in any practices related to the removal of their body hair. As a consequence of the small sample size of female students who do not remove body hair (also referred to as "non-removers"), the majority of results presented in this dissertation focuses on the attitudes and behaviors of the 291 female participants who remove their body hair from public/private body areas (also referred to as "removers").

The first section of this chapter compares the social background, or descriptive characteristics of both removers and non-removers in this dissertation. All subsequent sections of this chapter present data on attitudes and behaviors for only those female students who reported removing their body hair. In the beginning sections of this chapter, descriptive (univariate) results for all dependent and independent variables used in later analyses are presented and discussed. Building on the univariate discussion of variables, this chapter then utilizes bivariate and multivariate analyses to explore the associations between university students' attitudes and behaviors surrounding body hair and hair removal. Numerous bivariate and multivariate analyses investigate the main hypotheses ($H_{1.1}$ and $H_{1.2}$), as well as the 21 sub-hypotheses

(presented in Chapter 4). Because of the large nature of this chapter, the results are presented in four major sections corresponding with the four sets of independent variables (i.e., social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes to beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms). All bivariate analyses utilize the same two dependent variables: one that counts the number of public/visible areas of depilation and one that counts the number of private/hidden areas of depilation. For instance, bivariate findings revealed that participants reported depilating hair from more public areas than private areas, but the participants' attitudes towards beauty/body hair (for instance, increased negative attitudes, hygiene-related attitudes, weight-related attitudes), reports of other bodily routines, social background characteristics, and their knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences do not play an influential role in determining the extent of public/private depilation. In multivariate analyses, a third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods utilized, is utilized in addition to the other two dependent variables, to assess the relationships between all the independent variables and three dependent variables. Multivariate findings showed that university women's increased female socialization to hairlessness norms and increased negative attitudes towards body hair influenced the extent of depilation from public body areas. In addition, results indicated that all three socialization variables (e.g., female, male, and media) influenced how many depilatory methods women reported. The independent variables evaluated in this study did not seem to affect the extent of women's depilation from private body areas. All of these findings are reviewed in detail throughout this chapter.

General Sample Profile

A sample of 303 female students completed the questionnaire (see Table 1 in Appendix D). A profile of the age, race, sexual orientation, and relationship status characteristics for this sample is important for gaining a full understanding of the social background characteristics of respondents in this study. The vast majority of survey respondents (261, or 86%) were between the age of 19 to 33 years and the average age of the respondent is 24 years. Racial locations varied, as participants self-identified as Caucasian (92, or 30%), Black (76, or 25%), Hispanic/Latina (60, or 20%), Asian American/Pacific Islander (31, or 10%), Arabic (35, or 12%), Native American (three, or 1%), or other (six, or 2%). Respondents are overwhelmingly heterosexual (291, or 96%), and described their current relationship status as single (122, or 40%), dating (118, or 39%), or cohabiting (35, or 12%), and most did not have any children (281, or 93%).

In an attempt to measure religiosity among respondents, religious affiliation was assessed. Most respondents identified as Catholic (90, or 30%), Muslim (47, or 16%), Protestant (44, or 15%), or Orthodox (Antiochian, Serbian, Eastern, Greek) (34, or 11%). It is important to note that "Other" (36, or 12%) was a frequently reported religious affiliation within this study as well. Thus, religious affiliation was quite varied for this sample.

Respondents' political beliefs, residential location, employment status and income (both family and individual) were examined. Most respondents described their political beliefs as either conservative (147, or 51%), liberal (85, or 29%), or neutral (59 or 20%). Forty-five percent (135 participants) lived at home with their parents while

attending university. Over half indicated that they were employed (185, or 61%), with most in either full-time (81, or 27%) or part-time (70 or 23%) jobs. “Other” (119, or 39%) was frequently reported as participants’ employment status as well. Over a quarter of all participants (85, or 28%) described their family’s annual income as \$71,000 or above. Other participants had family incomes between \$61,000 to 70,999 (45, or 15%), \$51,000 to \$60,999 (15, or 5%), \$41,000 to \$50,999 (50, or 17%), \$31,000 to \$40,999 (34, or 11%), \$21,000 to \$30,999 (23, or 8%), \$11,000 to 20,999 (49, or 16%), and one percent (two participants) described their family income below \$10,999. Finally, a slight majority (218 or 72%) described their individual income as 10,999 or less.

To summarize, the average respondent in this sample tends to be a Caucasian, Black, or Hispanic, heterosexual woman, and an average age of 24 years. Religious affiliations are more likely to be Catholic, but sizable portions of this sample are Muslim or Protestant. Their political beliefs are more likely to be conservative, but many also reported liberal or neutral political beliefs. Almost half of the participants live at home with their parents and rarely do they have children of their own. The average respondent is single or dating at the time of survey. Family and individual incomes varied, although almost one half (145, or 48%) reports family incomes of over \$51,000, which is more than the median household income of \$50,740, in the U.S. in 2007 (<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html>).

Descriptive Results

Characteristics of non-removers.

This section focuses on the basic characteristics of the 12 female students that reported that they did not remove their body hair (see Table 1 in Appendix E), and these results are presented primarily as frequencies because percentages can be misleading and meaningless for such a small sample. In addition, for the purposes of providing summary information only, several variables (i.e., age, relationship status, political beliefs, and residence) were collapsed for this sub-sample, and therefore, fewer categories are presented as highlighted in Table 1. An examination of ages of non-removers revealed that nine of the 12 non-removers were ages 17 to 25, while three were between the ages of 26 and 41. Racial locations varied, but four non-removers indicated that they were Arabic, three were Hispanic/Latina, three were Caucasian, one was Black/African American, and one was Asian American/Pacific Islander. Similar numbers of non-removers indicated that they were either single or dating. Thus, five non-removers described their marital status as single, five reported that they were dating, and two reported that they had a relationship status other than single or dating.⁴

Five non-removers indicated that their religious affiliation was Catholic; three reported being Orthodox, two were Muslim, one was Protestant, and one reported an “other” religious affiliation. All non-removers in this sample reported being

⁴ The two non-removers circled “other” under marital status and did not offer any details.

heterosexual.

Over half (seven) stated that their political beliefs were “conservative,” while four stated that their political beliefs were “liberal,” and one participant was “neutral” in their political views. Six participants lived at home with their parents. The remainder of non-removers either rented or lived in a dorm on campus (four and two respectively).

Of the non-removers, two participants reported being unemployed, but others reported full-time work (three), part-time work (four), and temporary or odd jobs (three). Questions about income revealed that nine non-removers indicated annual individual incomes under \$10,999 a year. Two recorded individual incomes between \$11,000 and \$20,999, and one non-remover reported an individual income of over \$21,000. Respondents’ annual family incomes varied; four described their family’s income as under \$20,999, and another four indicated their family’s income is \$71,000 or higher. The family incomes of the remaining four non-removers fell into the middle categories (see Table 1 in Appendix E). As can be seen, the characteristics of non-removers varied, and thus, it is concluded that there was no one type of woman in this sample who represented a “non-remover.”

Non-remover’s attitudes towards body hair removal.

The 12 non-removing participants also indicated their degree of agreement or disagreement with 36 statements regarding “why they don’t remove their body hair” (see Table 2 in Appendix E). All 36 statements represented measures of the respondents’ attitudes towards not removing their body hair, and responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale (strongly agree, agree, don’t know, disagree, and strongly disagree). In Table 2, responses are collapsed to disagree and agree categories for ease of

presentation. There were nine statements related to negative aspects of hair removal, 17 related to positive aspects of body hair or hair removal, four related to financial resources and/or time management, four about their personal relationships, and another four about potential reasons for their non-removal behavior.

The majority of non-removers agreed with five statements. Specifically, nine non-removers agreed that, "Having body hair is embarrassing," eight agreed that "Having body hair is annoying," eight agreed that "Having body hair is unnatural," seven agreed that "Having body hair is unattractive," and seven agreed that "Having body hair is unclean." Additionally, seven non-removers disagreed that "Having body hair is disgusting" and "Having body hair is unimportant." Participants were divided in their attitudes about whether "Having body hair is itchy" or "Body hair removal increases body odor."

Seventeen statements asked participants to rate their agreement or disagreement with the potentially positive aspects of body hair and hair removal. Participants agreed with only two statements related to positive aspects of hair removal. Eight non-removers agreed that "Having body hair is protective," and seven agreed, "Having body hair is clean." However, eight non-removers disagreed with the following statements: "Having body hair is beautiful," "Having body hair is not a big deal," and "I like the experience of having body hair." Nine non-removers also disagreed that "Body hair is sexy," eight disagreed that "Having body hair is important," and seven disagreed that "Body hair is natural." However, nine non-removers disagreed that "Women should not have to remove their hair," and eight non-removers disagreed with the statement "My body is fine as is," suggesting either a problem with survey questions or a larger

indifference/neutrality that cannot be captured in survey responses. Non-removers held neutral attitudes towards the following statements: “Having body hair is attractive,” “Having body hair is youthful,” “Body hair removal lessens/removes body odor,” “My hair growth is naturally light,” and “I am attracted to people with body hair.”

The non-removers were neutral towards the statement about whether “life is too busy” to remove their body hair as well. Nine disagreed with the statement, “It's too time-consuming to remove my body hair,” eight disagreed, “It's too expensive to remove their body hair,” and seven disagreed, “I’m lazy (and therefore do not remove my body hair).” Seven agreed with the statement, “I have sensitive skin,” but seven also disagreed that they “have medical reasons for not removing [their] hair.” Eight disagreed that “Sports activities require them to keep [their] hair,” and eight disagreed with the statement, “I am trying to make a political statement.” In other words, non-removers in this sample are not utilizing reasons such as lack of time, money, and/or laziness to account for their non-removal. They also are not highlighting medical reasons, sports activities, or political beliefs as reasons for why they do not remove their body hair. The only affirmative reason for which a majority might not remove, based on the survey questions asked and answered, is the fact that seven out of 12 reported sensitive skin, but results are inconclusive.

The non-removers were also asked about their personal relationships, to see if relationship-related factors caused them to forgo removing body hair. Eight non-removers agreed that they were “not currently in a relationship.” Eight also agreed that with the statement, “I have better sexual experiences when I have body hair.” Seven non-removers disagreed with the statement, “My partner asked me to keep my body

hair.” Finally, eight non-removers agreed with the statement, “I only do it seasonally.” Thus, while they reported on the survey that they did not currently remove their body hair, their behavior may vary over time (it is possible that in future analysis these eight removers could be considered to be part of the “remover” sample. The fact that over half of the non-removers indicated that they were not currently in a relationship also may explain why many disagreed that that their partners asked them to keep their body hair.

When asked to provide open-ended comments about their attitudes about body hair, two non-removers provided relevant comments that might help explain reasons for non-removal. One non-remover stated, “I am proud of my hair and most of the guys that I am with prefer that I don’t shave,” when asked to give an example of how body hair has positively affected your relationships. A second stated, “I was born with hair and God wanted me to look this way, so I am natural,” when asked if there were any other comments that they would like to include. Overall, it was unclear among survey respondents as to why some choose not to remove their body hair.

In summary, not enough survey questions were asked about from which body parts they removed hair seasonally, or on which body parts they consider body hair to be sexy, so the results presented here are inconclusive. Non-removing participants reported no common reasons for non-removal (at least based on the survey questions asked; future research should examine non-removal behavior more fully). Due to the sample size limitations, the 12 women that did not remove their body hair at the time of the survey are eliminated from any further analyses. Subsequent analyses focus on women who reported removing their body hair at the time of the survey (N=291).

Characteristics of removers.

This section focuses on the basic characteristics of the “removers,” or the 291 female students (96%) who reported that they removed their body hair at the time of the survey (see Table 3 in Appendix E). Unlike the previous section, in which only frequencies were used to describe the 12 non-removers, the results in this section and hence forth are presented in both frequencies and percentages because of the larger sample of removers. While a full sample profile (N=303) was presented earlier in this chapter, a profile of the removers (N=291) is offered here to provide a more accurate picture of the sample upon which all subsequent results are based.

As in Table 1, several variables in Table 3 (i.e., age, relationship status political beliefs, and residence) were collapsed and reduced to fewer categories (because some original response categories only had a few respondents) (see Appendix E). An assessment of the respondents' ages revealed that most removers (226, or 78%) were between the ages of 17 to 25 years, followed by 50 women (17%) who indicated they were between the ages of 26 to 41 years, and 15 women (5%) reported they were 42 years or older. The average age for the removers in this sample is 20 years, which is slightly younger than the average age of non-removers in this sample (23 years) and the entire sample in general (24 years). Similar to the non-removers, the racial locations of removers varied. For instance, 89 removers (31%) indicated that they were Caucasian, 75 women (26%) reported they were Black/African American, 57 women (20%) were Hispanic/Latina, 31 women (11%) were Arabic, 30 women (10%) were Asian American/Pacific Islander, and the remaining nine women (3%) reported an “Other” race. Equal numbers of participants described their relationship statuses as

either single (117, or 40%) or dating (113, or 39%), but (61 women, or 21%) reported “other” relationship statuses. The other relationship statuses that were reported by the removers were: married (19, or 7%), divorced (two, or 1%), cohabiting (33, or 11%), engaged (five, or 2%), separated/widowed (one, or .3%), and “other” (one, or .3%).

Removers in this sample also indicated that their religious affiliations were Catholic (85, or 29%), Muslim (45, or 16%), Protestant (43, or 15%), Orthodox (31, or 11%), Jewish (26, or 9%), Atheist (30, or 10%), or having “no religion” (31, or 11%). As for their sexual orientation, most respondents (279, or 96%) reported being heterosexual, but 12 women (4%) reported an “other” sexual orientation. Examinations of political beliefs revealed that half of the removers (147, or 50%) stated that their political beliefs were “conservative,” over a quarter (85, or 29%) stated that their political beliefs were “liberal,” and twenty percent (59 participants) were “neutral” in their political beliefs. Questions about their current place of residence indicated that removers live at home with their parents (129, or 44%), rent an apartment and/or house (103, or 35%), live on WSU’s campus (36, or 12%), or own a house (23, or 8%).

Many removers (117, or 40%) were not working at the time of the survey; however, most reported being employed full-time (78, or 27%), part-time (66, or 23%), or in temporary/odd jobs (30, or 10%). Most removers (209, or 72%) reported earning an individual income of under \$10,999 a year. The women’s family incomes varied; only two removers (1%) reported a family income of under \$10,999. Eighty-one women (28%) reported that their annual family income is higher than \$71,000 a year (see Table 3 in Appendix E), but removers were fairly evenly distributed across all other family income categories. Therefore, the removers in this sample are most likely between the

ages of 17 and 25, either single or dating, Catholic, heterosexual, residing with their parents, either conservative or liberal, employed at least part-time or temporarily (yet earning little), and have varied racial locations and family incomes.

Descriptive Results on All Independent Variables for Removers

Results of the descriptive analyses of all the independent variables related to removers' bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms are presented and discussed in this section.

Removers' reports of bodily routines.

Female students reported that they include many bodily routines, or body work related to the maintenance of a certain physical appearance, into their daily lives. Descriptive results revealed that participants incorporate an average of three bodily routines into their daily lives (mean=3.69, st.dev.=1.096). These bodily routines include: visiting a professional hairstylist, wearing makeup, regular skincare, and receiving manicures, and pedicures. Two thirds of participants (n=196) visited a professional hairstylist in the past year, and 161 women (55%) reported visiting their hair stylist one or more times a month (see Table 4 in Appendix E). While visiting their hair stylist, participants reported that they have their hair washed/dried (154, or 53%), cut/trim (149, or 51%), colored (139, or 48%), and/or styled (blown out/permed/straightened/up-dos) (149, or 51%). Some comments from the removers as to why they get their hair professionally styled included:

"I can't do my own braids,"

"It would look bad if I did it myself,"

“They do a better job of coloring, and I like my hair to look perfect,”

“I feel like a woman,”

“It is hard for me to do my own hair because I am disabled,”

“I like to look different and clean,”

“It makes me feel better,”

“It makes me feel better about myself,”

“It relaxes me,”

“I feel so feminine when I leave the salon.”

It can be seen that in these open-ended comments, that participants who believed that they could not style their own hair also felt that they required the help of a professional. Some also believed that they gained emotional benefits, feeling “better” when they engaged in these routines. Others express feeling more “feminine” or “womanly,” or had very specific reasons for going to a professional stylist (e.g., being disabled). On the other hand, comments from removers who do not incorporate this beauty routine were very different from those who did incorporate this routine:

“Can’t afford it,”

“Can’t spend the money on my hair right now,”

“I do it better myself,”

“I get headaches when people rub my head,”

“I hate people touching me,”

“I like my hair long and they always cut off too much.”

Therefore, these participants indicated that getting their hair professionally styled was for individual, appearance-related reasons. Additionally, two comments were based in economic reasons for not incorporating this routine. Other comments dealt with

assessments of professional stylists' abilities to deal with their hair. Two comments also highlighted women's desires to maintain personal space and not let others touch them. One additional remover stated that she gets her hair styled for others, but "only on special occasions and only for good-looking decent men." This type of comment reinforces the idea that women might engage in certain bodily routines because they know how others might react to their appearance in certain situations, and that they might gain social rewards for grooming their hair.

Female students also reported wearing makeup and engaging in regular/daily skin care activities. In this sample, 227 participants (78%) reported that they wore facial makeup in the last year, and 211 (73%) reported wearing it in the last month. Thirty percent (89 participants) reported wearing it five or six times a week or more. Finally, in the past year, over three quarters of the women in this sample (251, or 86%) reported engaging in a regular or daily skincare routine.

There were 27 comments from the removers that provided reasons why they wear facial makeup. In these comments, most of the removers suggest that wearing makeup improves both their physical appearance and, as a result, their self-confidence. Some comments from the participants included:

"I feel more confident and prettier with makeup"

"I feel ugly without it"

"I love the way it makes me look and feel"

"It makes me look sexy"

"It makes me feel better about myself"

Participants' open-ended comments that the application of makeup makes them look "prettier" or "sexy" infers that they adhere to beauty norms when engaging in this bodily

routine. Three comments from removers indicate that wearing makeup hides skin imperfections:

“To conceal blemishes and uneven skin tone,”

“To cover up blemishes,”

“To hide my flaws”

Other comments about wearing makeup, such as “It’s part of my life” and “It’s part of my routine,” highlighted how “normal” this bodily routine is for some participants. Finally, one remover stated, “I get more attention when I look good and wearing makeup helps me achieve that” illustrating knowledge of and experience with social rewards for this bodily routine.

Participants were also asked whether they had received manicures and pedicures. For instance, 187 women (64%) received at least one manicure in the last year. Half of the participants (146 women) reported receiving at least one manicure in the last month, with 45 women (16%) receiving three or more per month. In the past year, 212 women (73%) had pedicures to their toenails. In the past month, 95 women (33%) received at least one pedicure. Participants were not asked any questions related to these bodily routines.

The statements asking participants about their weight and body/size included: “Do you diet?” and “Do you worry about your weight/body size?” Many participants (246, or 85%) in this sample reported dieting at least some of the time, last year. In addition, the majority (252, or 87%) reported that they worry about their weight/body size. More specifically, over sixty percent (190 women) further indicated that in the last month, they

thought about their weight/body size at least once or twice a week. There were no open-ended questions related to participants' attitudes about their weight/body size.

Women in this sample reported engaging in particular clothing routines, such as wearing sleeveless shirts, skirts (knee-length or shorter), shorts (knee-length or shorter), bathing suits, and open-toed shoes. Descriptive results indicated that of the five clothing routines, participants reported wearing, on average, three articles of clothing that reveal more skin (mean=3.77, st.dev.=.941). A majority (263, or 90%) indicated that they wore sleeveless blouses/shirts in the last year. In addition, 168 participants (58%) reported wearing sleeveless blouses/shirts in the last month. Sixty-one percent (178 women) indicated that they did not wear skirts (knee-length or mini) in the last year. Of the women who indicated wearing skirts in the last year (113, or 39%), only 43 participants (15%) reported that they wore skirts at least once a week in the last month. Conversely, two-thirds (193 participants) indicated that they wore shorts (knee-length or shorter) in the last year. Forty-four percent (128 women) reported that they wear shorts at least once or twice a week during the summer months. The majority of participants (255, or 88%) also reported wearing bathing suits in the last year, and 101 participants (35%) indicated that they wear bathing suits more than once a week during the summer months. The vast majority (274, or 94%) reported that they wore open-toed shoes in the last year. Many women (218, or 75%) also suggested that they frequently wore open-toed shoes (e.g., once or more a week) in the last month.

Additionally, 77 participants commented on the open-ended question, "What is an example of your favorite type of clothing?" Most participants said they like wearing "jeans" (48 comments). However, nine liked wearing "shorts or Capri's," one liked "short

jersey dresses,” and another participant liked “skirts.” Five participants also said they liked wearing “flip flops.” Thus, overall, participants in this sample report wearing at least some types of clothing that reveal significant amounts of their physical body (and, therefore, body hair) over the past year. As illustrated, participants provided many comments regarding whether and why they incorporate these bodily routines into their daily lives. Further, this suggests that these routines may be considered “normal” or important for some women, but these findings would need to be confirmed by future studies.

Removers’ attitudes towards body hair and body hair removal.

Attitudes towards body hair, visible or otherwise, were generally negative (see Table 5 in Appendix E). For instance, when asked, “How do you feel about body hair?” sixty-two percent (179 women) reported feeling negatively about body hair.⁵ Moreover, 175 participants (60%) reported that they disagreed that “Having body hair is beautiful,” and slightly over half reported that “Having body hair is unattractive” (156, or 54%). Fifty-six percent (162 women) reported agreeing that having body hair is “disgusting,” but an equal number of participants reported agreeing and disagreeing that having body hair is “ugly” (131 and 132 respectively, thus 45% each). Over half (160, or 55%) agreed that having body hair is “annoying,” but forty-five percent (131 participants) agreed with the statement “Having body hair is protective.” Most participants expressed

⁵ All the independent variables with Likert scale response categories were collapsed into categories of Disagree and Agree. A detailed explanation of all data modifications to the independent variables follows later in this chapter (see “Data Modification for the Independent Variables used in Bivariate Analyses.”)

that their “hygiene was important” (277, or 95%), and many (246, or 85%) agreed that “It’s important to [them] to appear clean.” Nonetheless, only 185 women (64%) reported agreeing with the statement, “I look cleaner without body hair.”

Removers also reported various attitudes about why it might be important or necessary to depilate their body hair. When participants were asked, “How do you feel about removing your body hair?” many (226, or 78%) indicated that this behavior is “necessary.” Slightly over half (150 participants) reported agreeing with the statement, “I like the experience of removing their body hair,” which suggests that a self-proclaimed “personal preference” for hairlessness also parallels “necessity” as a reason for depilation. Some students in this sample also reported removing their body hair because “it makes them feel feminine” (151, or 52%), and/or because they are “trying to avoid looking masculine” (171, or 59%). Fifty-one percent (148 women) reported feeling “sexier without body hair.” Half (147 participants) replied “yes” to the statement, “I feel more attractive when I remove my body hair.” Thus, women’s attitudes about the necessity of (or their personal preference for) body hair removal may be linked to their desires to appear attractive, feminine, or sexy; these relationships are tested in a later section of this chapter.

Students in this sample were also asked some questions about their self-confidence. The majority (243, or 84%) rated their overall self-confidence as “good” or “excellent,” and two-thirds of removers (192 women) reported feeling good about themselves most of the time. Sixty percent (175 women) also reported believing that others think positively about their physical appearances. Despite these positive feelings about themselves and their appearances, though, women in this sample were divided in

their attitudes about how successful they were in achieving a certain appearance. Fifty-three percent (153 women) reported believing that they are successful at becoming beautiful. Thus, a sizeable portion of this sample inferred unhappiness or dissatisfaction with themselves and their appearances.

A majority (205, or 70%) reported believing that “beauty can be achieved via body hair removal.” Therefore, participants were asked to further reveal their attitudes towards body hair and hair removal. Specifically, slightly over half the students (154, or 53%) believed that “being hair-free changed how others perceived them.” Questions about participants’ attitudes towards others’ body hair revealed that about half (154 women, or 53%) reported negative feelings towards the statement, “How do you feel about women who do not remove visible body hair” as well. Over two-thirds of the sample (202, or 69%) reported affirmatively to the statement “Hair removal is more important for women than men,” and over half (165, or 56%) agreed that “Men prefer hair-free women.” In addition, 145 participants (50%) reported that they are “attracted to other hair-free people” and 155 women (53%) reported agreeing with the statement “I prefer hair-free sexual partners.” Thus, women in this sample were split in terms of whether they agreed or disagreed that hair removal was important in general, important for women versus men, attractive on women versus men, and whether being hair-free changed others’ opinions of them. These attitudinal survey questions do not show any conclusive univariate results, as participants’ attitudes about body hair and body hair removal are divided in this study.

Removers' knowledge and experiences with social rewards/consequences.

Descriptive results indicate that the students in this sample are knowledgeable of and/or had past experiences with social rewards for hairlessness (or negative sanctions for hairy bodies) (see Table 6 in Appendix E). Three-quarters of the removers (221 participants) reported “no” when asked, “Would you go socializing without removing body hair?” Seventy percent (204 women) reported that they believed that “Hair-free women are more likely to get asked out on dates.”

The students in this study also reported knowledge of the social rewards they may receive for hairlessness at their place of employment. Sixty-seven percent (196 women) indicated that they would not go to “work without removing their body hair.” Moreover, some removers (190, or 65%) reported believing that “Hair-free women are more likely to get hired for jobs.” Slightly over half (163, or 56%) reported agreeing with the statement, “I receive more professional credibility when I remove my body hair,” yet forty-three percent (126 participants) disagreed that body hair removal is an actual job requirement.

Descriptive analyses offer mixed results on participants' knowledge of and experiences with social rewards/consequences when delving further into these issues, however. Many participants reported that they were knowledgeable of the social rewards women may receive for hairless bodies, in that almost two-thirds of participants (183, or 63%) stated that, “It was important to them that others noticed their hair-free bodies.” Sixty-seven percent (196 participants) also reported having “benefited because of their physical appearances” more generally. Nonetheless, only 108 participants (37%) reported believing that they receive social approval (from peers or

dates), when they remove their body hair. Only 126 participants (43%) reported affirmatively “Body hair removal has affected my life positively.” About half (146 women) reported that they do not believe that “Others notice their body hair when it’s not removed.” Overall, this means that more participants recognized the potential benefit of hairlessness than actually received those benefits. (According to Foucauldian feminists, knowledge of the power of hairlessness norms is all that is needed, however; women might adhere to norms even when they rarely see their benefits pay off (Bartky, 1998).)

Some students in this sample reported that they were knowledgeable of the social consequences or the negative social reactions women may experience for violating hairlessness norms. About half of the participants (155, or 53%) agreed that “Having body hair is embarrassing,” and fifty-one percent (148 women) reported that they had “been embarrassed because of their body hair.” Slightly over half (160, or 55%) reported, “hiding their body hair removal practices from others.” Some participants also reported agreeing that they “experienced pressures from their families” (138, or 47%), “partner/significant other” (150, or 52%), “male friends” (149, or 51%), and “female friends” (147, or 51%) to remove their body hair. However, only 117 women (40%) reported agreeing with the statement, “I remove my body hair because I want to avoid any teasing or negative attention.” Thus, the avoidance of negative social sanctions may not be the main reason why some women choose to remove their body hair.

Removers' socialization to hairlessness norms.

Students in this sample were asked questions related to socialization to hairlessness norms. For instance, some women (67, or 23%) reported that they started removing their body hair because "Negative feedback from others influenced [them]," and similar numbers of participants (65, or 22%) reported that "Family members influenced [them]" to remove their body hair (see Table 7 in Appendix E). Approximately half of all removers also reported that they "Talked with someone about their body hair" or "body hair removal" (152 and 156 respectively). Most of the students reported that they learned to remove their body hair from their "mothers" (219, or 75%), their "friends" (178, or 61%), and/or "[them] selves" (194, or 67%). Thus, for most in this sample body hair removal is a learned behavior, at least in part, and socialization to these norms does occur. Finally, the majority (233, or 80%) reported, "no" when asked, "Have you ever stopped removing your body hair?" There were 12 open-ended comments that addressed when and why the participants stopped removing their body hair (for any period of time) since starting this practice. The first sets of comments included, "I got lazy, but I only stopped shaving my legs and nothing else," "I wanted to see what I looked like [with body hair]," "To see how it felt to have hair in those places," and "I only shave my legs when they will be exposed." In these comments the notion that women are aware of their appearance is subtly reinforced. The latter comment highlights that women remove hair from certain body areas before being seen by others, and further, suggests that because they adhere to hairlessness norms they may expect to receive positive social reactions (social rewards). In addition, five women stated, more specifically, that they stopped removing their body hair because of the weather.

For instance, “I didn’t feel like removing [my body hair], because I have seasonal depression,” “In the winter I don’t shave,” or “When it’s cold outside I don’t remove my body hair” were some weather-related reasons as to why some participants stopped this practice. In the remaining four comments focused on the participants’ relationship status. For instance, “I was single,” and one said, “When I am single and no one is going to see my body.” Thus, of the participants in this sample who indicated that they stopped removing their body hair (for any period of time), half of the comments (five) were weather-related and the other half were related to the participants’ relationship status. Though the remaining comments varied, participants seemed to give personal reasons as to why they chose to stop removing their body hair, for a period of time, since starting this behavior.

Descriptive Results on All the Dependent Variables for Removers

The main dependent variables, as described in Chapter Four, are the two additive (count) variables that deal with areas of depilation (public and private areas). The third dependent variable is the number of depilatory methods used, which is a count variable as well, but its relationship with the other variables is not examined until later, in multivariate regression analyses. The two main variables derive from an initial count variable that was comprised of women’s responses about whether they removed hair from a range of 25 body parts (see the discussion of this computation in Chapter Four). This section details the basic responses from the participants about whether they removed hair from certain body parts and which methods they utilized, to provide context for later analyses.

The female students (N=291, or 96%) in this sample (who reported removing their body hair) were asked a series of yes/no questions related to whether or not they removed hair from specific body regions on their face, upper, middle, and lower bodies. As seen in Table 8 (see Appendix E), most female students reported removing hair from their face and upper body. More specifically, the majority reported removing hair from their eyebrows (272, or 94%) and underarms (266, or 91%). Participants also reported removing hair from these areas: legs (upper and lower) (253, or 87%), upper lip (248, or 85%), chin (179, or 62%), arms (upper and lower) (147, or 51%), and bikini line (145, or 50%). As is evident in Table 8, some women in the sample (approximately 30%) reported removing hair from the larger pubic area as well. Few participants reported depilating from their shoulders, ears, neck, nose, forehead, upper back, lower back, and chest. The vast majority also does not depilate their breasts/nipples, hands, stomach, buttocks, midsection, and/or their feet/toes.

A comparison between participants' removal from public versus private body areas revealed that participants replied "yes" to removing the hair from the following thirteen public/visible body areas: hairline (36, or 12%), forehead (21, or 7%), eyebrows (272, or 94%), upper lip (248, or 85%), chin (179, or 62%), ears (16, or 6%), nose (20, or 7%), neck (15, or 5%), arms (upper and lower) (147, or 51%), underarms (266, or 91%), hands/fingers (36, or 12%), legs (upper and lower) (253, or 87%), and feet/toes (43, or 15%). In total, then, participants reported removing body hair from any public area 1,552 times. Participants also replied "yes" to the following twelve private body areas: shoulders (9, or 3%), chest (26, or 9%), breast/nipples (36, or 12%), back (upper) (20, or 7%), back (lower) (27, or 9%), stomach (45, or 16%), buttocks (46, or 16%),

bikini line (145, or 50%), more than bikini line, less than whole pubic area (95, or 33%), pubic area, but left a strip, patch, triangle, etc. (86, or 30%), whole pubic area (69, or 24%), entire pubic and anal area (93, or 32%). Participants therefore answered “yes” to removing the hair from these private areas a total number of 697 times (less than half the number of times participants reported removing body hair from any public area). Overall, participants reported removing body hair from public areas more frequently than they reported removing body hair from private body areas.

In addition, the descriptive results for the counted dependent variables, extent of depilation from public/private body areas, revealed that participants reported removing hair from a minimum of one to a maximum of 10 public body areas (from a total of 13 public body areas). On average, participants reported removing hair from five public body areas (mean= 5.33, standard deviation of 1.532). On the other hand, participants reported removing hair from a minimum of zero and a maximum of nine private/hidden body areas (from a total of 12 private body areas). Participants reported depilating from slightly more than two private body areas (mean= 2.40, standard deviation of 1.691). Thus, participants in this sample reported removing hair from more public/visible body areas than private/hidden body areas. Hypothesis 17 is already supported by these univariate analyses.

Further, female students were asked about various methods used to remove body hair. Methods of depilation are presented in Table 9 (see Appendix E). As is shown, female students most frequently reported using shaving razors (255, or 88%) and tweezers (212, or 73%) as depilatory methods. Other, less popular depilatory methods included trimming (134, or 46%), salon waxing (93, or 32%), threading (46, or

16%), sugaring (44, or 15%), and/or waxing at home (43, or 15%). Some participants liked using a razor/shaving because, "It is quick and easy," "cheap and fast," "It doesn't hurt," and "I can do it myself." Others indicated that they preferred tweezers because, "I find it relaxing even though plucking takes forever," and that "It is the most effective [method] for me." Four participants preferred clippers for reasons, such as "It is easier than shaving," and "They work on the really hairy parts of my body." One participant said she liked using her "husband's clippers - men's stuff always works better." Lastly, eight women preferred using wax to remove their body hair because, "Hair does not grow back as fast," "It's quick, but painful," and "It lasts long, without the itchiness." Therefore, participants' methods varied, but many indicated that their choice of depilatory methods is a result of practicalities or a conscious evaluation of costs and benefits. Descriptive analyses related to this additive variable indicate that participants reported using zero to eight depilatory methods (from a total of 12). On average, participants reported utilizing three depilatory methods (mean= 3.45, standard deviation of 1.627).

In summary, this first section of Chapter Five describes important univariate results from this study. First, a profile of both the 12 non-removers and their attitudes is discussed. A profile of the 291 removers in this sample follows. Subsequently, the results for the rest of the independent variables used in this dissertation, for the remover subsample only are outlined. These results, then, cover removers' bodily routines, attitudes towards beauty/body hair and body hair removal, knowledge of and experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms. Despite the small number of non-removers there did seem to be a few similarities between the non-

removers and non-removers in terms of social background characteristics, thus suggesting some uniformity across of the entire sample (N=303). There were only a few attitudinal variables that could be compared among the sub-samples of non-removers and removers in this dissertation. Non-removers are therefore left out of all further analysis in this dissertation.

For this study, the independent variables that were related to bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and experiences with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms were examined using univariate analyses. Descriptive results indicated that a slight majority of students in this sample reported incorporating an average of three bodily routines into their daily lives (e.g. visiting a professional hairstylist in the past year for a wash/dry, cut/trim, and/or style; regular skin care activities; wearing makeup; receiving manicures and/or pedicures; reported dieting and/or worrying about their weight in the last year. Additionally, a slight majority of female students reported wearing an average of three articles of clothing that reveal more skin and, hence, more body hair (e.g., sleeveless blouses/shirts, shorts, bathing suits, and open-toed shoes). Whether these bodily routines could be indicative of adherence to beauty norms of any kind is unclear, but it is clear that participants in this sample do engage in the regular upkeep of their bodies in some way. So far, univariate results can only suggest that along with their engagement in body hair removal, female students in this sample also participate in other bodily routines of some kind.

Univariate results also described students' attitudes about body hair and hair removal. Slightly over half of the removers reported negative attitudes towards body

hair; such as body hair is disgusting, annoying, and unattractive. In addition, less than half agreed that body hair serves a protective purpose. Other reported attitudes focused on more hygiene-related issues. For instance, just over half of the participants reported agreeing that they look cleaner without body hair while the majority reported that their hygiene and appearing clean was important to them. Some participants also expressed appearance-related attitudes. Slightly over half of the participants, for instance, reported that they removed their body hair to avoid looking masculine and because removing it made them feel feminine and sexy. Just over half reported believing that being hair-free changed how others perceived them. At base, removers' attitudes varied about body hair in general, and why it might be important to depilate their body hair. Because of this variation, univariate results on participants' attitudes are inconclusive.

A slight majority reported believing that they might receive social rewards/consequences for adhering to and/or violating hairlessness norms. Over half of the students reported being knowledgeable of the social rewards that hair-free women may possibly receive in both their personal lives and in their employment. However, results indicated that less than half of this sample's participants indicated that body hair removal had positively affected their lives and, thus, less than half of the participants officially reported feeling the social rewards of hairlessness. Moreover, slightly over half of the students reported that they were knowledgeable of the social consequences or negative social reactions they could experience for violating hairlessness norms. However, less than half of the students reported removing their body hair to avoid any teasing or negative attention, and only just over half reported that

they had experienced actual pressures from their partner/significant other, male friends, female friends, and families to remove their body hair. A little over half of the students in this sample reported that they hide their hair removal practices. Therefore, it seems that participants reported having more knowledge of, than experience with, social rewards and consequences for hair removal.

Additionally, participants were asked about their attitudes towards socialization to hairlessness norms. Approximately half of all the removers indicated that they spoke with someone about their body hair or body hair removal. A slight majority reported that they learned to remove their body hair from their mothers, friends, and/or themselves. Lastly, the majority reported that they had never stopped removing their body hair since starting this behavior. Yet, participants' who stopped (for any period of time) offered open-ended comments as to why they had stopped, and mostly, their decisions were weather-related reasons or relationship-related reasons, but others expressed more personal reasons for their non-removal behavior. Thus, these comments reveal that participants' decisions not to remove their body hair were temporary and that some participants resume with body hair removal in warmer weather which may suggest they wear clothes that reveal more skin (and thus body hair) at certain times of year. Others recommence when they are in a relationship because their unshaven bodies could be seen by intimate others. These comments may represent evidence that some women may discipline their bodies via body hair removal to avoid any negative social consequences for their hairy bodies, and ultimately adhere to hairlessness norms to receive positive social rewards for their hairless bodies.

The dependent variables in this analysis focus on participants' depilation of hair from different types of body areas. For instance, female students in this sample reported removing hair from certain facial areas (e.g., eyebrows, upper lip, and chin), upper body areas (e.g., underarms and arms), and lower body areas (e.g., legs and bikini line). Hair removal from the mid section was not a commonly reported area among the survey respondents. These analyses further revealed that participants reported removing hair from more public/visible body areas than private/hidden body areas; as a result, hypothesis 17 is supported. Participants also reported using approximately three depilatory methods on average.

Initial univariate findings create the basis for further analysis of the hypothesized model (see Figure 2). The next section of this chapter represents a review of the bivariate analyses conducted on these data. Bivariate analyses were carried out to establish the specific relationships between the aforementioned independent variables and the two main dependent variables, which are the extent of depilation from public/private body areas.

Bivariate Analyses

Building on the univariate discussion of variables, this section utilizes bivariate analyses and participants' open-ended comments to explore the associations between university women's attitudes and behaviors surrounding body hair and hair removal from public/private body areas. Similar to the presentation of the univariate results, the bivariate results are also presented in four major sections corresponding with the four sets of independent variables. The following bivariate analyses utilize the two main dependent variables: the extent of depilation from public/visible body areas and the

extent of depilation from private/hidden body areas. The sets of independent variables that correspond with 1) social background characteristics; 2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair; 3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences; and 4) socialization to hairlessness norms were modified for t-tests and chi-square analyses through collapsing, recoding, and dummy coding of the original variables. In addition, in later multivariate analyses, these individual variables are modified through certain data reduction and/or modification techniques and, then, utilized as a group of variables that together represent one of the four sets of independent variables, as mentioned above. Prior to the presentation of bivariate results, a detailed explanation of the data reduction and/or modification to all of the independent variables utilized in bivariate analyses is discussed.

Data Modification for the Independent Variables used in Bivariate Analyses

The independent variables for these analyses were prepared for t-tests with modifications, such as dichotomizing and dummy coding (e.g., for nominal level variables). Data modifications and/or reductions to the sets of variables representing social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms, are discussed below.

Social background characteristics.

In Chapter Four, the original ten variables that represent social background characteristics were discussed. In the following analyses, there are eight variables that represent social background characteristics: race, religion, political beliefs, employment status, relationship status, annual individual income, annual family income, and birth

year⁶. The first variable, race, was a nominal level variable with seven categories. For t-test and (later for regression) purposes, this variable was dummy coded into four different variables (e.g., 1=white and 0= women of color; 1=black and 0= all other women; 1=Hispanic and 0= all other women; and 1= Arabic and 0= all other women). Religion was also dummy coded and represents three different variables (e.g., 1=Protestant and 0=all other religions; 1=Muslim and 0=all other religions; and 1=Catholic and 0=all other religions). The variable, religion, was not included in later regression analyses because it did not pertain to any the hypotheses discussed in Chapter 4. Employment status was dichotomized and dummy coded (e.g., 1=working and 0=all other employment statuses) as well. Employment status was further modified and two additional variables (e.g. 1=full-time and 0=all other statuses; 1=part-time and 0= all other statuses) were created for these analyses. The response categories to the variable, relationship status, were collapsed and recoded to represent whether participants in this sample were in dating relationships (1) or single (0). The remaining variables, individual income and family income, were ordinal levels of measurement. These variables, annual individual income (1= \$10,999 or below and 0= \$11,000 or above) and family income (1= \$41,000 or higher and 0= \$40,999 or below), were dichotomized using their median value. For the purposes of bivariate analyses, the variable, “What is your age?” was dichotomized (based on the mean value) into two categories, 25 years or younger (1) and 26 years or older (0). The interval-level variable, “What year were you born?” was utilized in later regression analyses. The

⁶ For original coding of variables see questions 89 -101 in Appendix C.

other social background variables (e.g., sexual orientation and residential location) were excluded from these and further analyses.

Bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair.

For the following bivariate analyses, a group of 17 attitudinal variables were included to further assess participants' attitudes towards beauty/body hair. These independent represent participants' appearance-related attitudes, weight-related attitudes, hygiene-related attitudes, negative attitudes towards body hair, and other attitudes towards body hair and hair removal. First, the set of variables representing appearance-related attitudes were: "I feel feminine when I remove my body hair," "I remove my body hair to avoid looking masculine", and "Having body hair is unattractive" (1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree). These variables were dichotomized and dummy coded (0=Disagree and 1=Agree). Next, the variables representing hygiene-related attitudes were: "How important to you is your hygiene?" (1= Not important to 7=Very important), "I remove my body hair to look cleaner," and "Having body hair is unclean" (1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree). These were dichotomized and dummy coded (0=Disagree and 1=Agree) as well. Attitudes towards weight maintenance were also dichotomized and dummy coded and was represented with these variables: "I worry about my weight/body size" (0=no and 1=yes), "Do you diet" (0=no and 1=yes), and "How important is it that your body be thin?" (0=not important and 1=important). Next, participants' negative attitudes towards body hair were assessed (all with original answer categories of 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree): "Having body hair is disgusting", "Having body hair is annoying", "Having body hair is unnatural", and "Having body hair is unattractive." These independent variables

were also dichotomized and dummy coded (0=Disagree and 1=Agree) for bivariate analyses. Any statistical differences and/or similarities among the remaining two variables (with answer categories of 0=not important and 1=important), which are “How important to you is your physical health” and “How important is your physical appearance?” and the dependent variables were assessed as well.

The index variables that represent an assessment of bodily routines consisted of participants' answers about the beauty and clothing routines that they incorporated into their daily lives (other than body hair removal). For instance, the variable, beauty routines, is a count variable that was created by adding participants' responses to the following five questions: “In the past year, have you visited a professional hairstylist?” (0=no and 1=yes), “In the past year, did you wear facial makeup?” (0=no and 1=yes), “In the past year, did you manicures to your fingernails?” (0=no and 1=yes), “In the past year, did you get pedicures to your toenails?” (0=no and 1=yes), and “Do you engage in any daily skin care routines?” (0=no and 1=yes). As mentioned, basic descriptive findings revealed that, on average, participants include three beauty routines into their lives (mean= 3.69). Adding together the affirmative responses from these five questions also created a second index variable, clothing routines: “Do you wear sleeveless shirts/blouses?” (0=no and 1=yes), “Do you wear knee length and/or mini-skirts on a regular basis?” (0=no and 1=yes), “Do you wear bathing suits in the summer?” (0=no and 1=yes), “Do you wear shorts in the summer?” (0=no and 1=yes), and “Do you wear open-toed shoes during summer months?” (0=no and 1=yes). On average, participants reported wearing 3 articles of clothing that reveal more skin and,

perhaps, more body hair (mean=3.77). Together, these independent variables represent the larger concept of women's adherence to bodily routines.

Knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences.

Participants' knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards for hairlessness were represented with the following five independent variables: "Others notice my body hair when it's not removed," "My friends remove their body hair," "Would you go out socializing without removing your body hair?" "Would you go to work without removing your body hair?" and "Body hair removal has positively affected my life". Each variable had original answer categories of "yes", "no", and "don't know." The "don't know" response category was coded as missing for each of the variables.

In addition, five variables represent participants' knowledge of and/or experience with social consequences for hairy bodies. For the first variable in this group, "Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair?" (0=no, 1=yes, 2= don't know), the response category, "don't know," was coded as missing. The remaining four variables, "Body hair is ugly," "There is family pressure to remove my body hair," "I remove my body hair to avoid teasing/negative attention," and "Body hair increases body odor" were each dichotomized and dummy coded (0=Disagree and 1= Agree). In the following section, these modified variables are utilized to assess the bivariate relationships between the independent and dependent variables, the extent of depilation from public/private bodily areas.

Socialization to hairlessness norms.

The independent variable, "Who taught you body hair removal practices?" had asked participants to "circle all that apply" from a choice of 17 response categories.

These response categories included socializing agents, such as their mother, father, grandmother, etc., but in an effort to examine each socializing agent, this question was recomputed into 17 different questions all with dichotomous response categories (yes/no). Each of the relationships among the independent variables related to participants' socialization to hairlessness norms and the dependent variables, extent of depilation from public/private areas, were examined using bivariate t-test analyses.

Relationships between Social Background Characteristics and Other Independent and Dependent Variables

Chi-square and t-test analyses are initially employed to test the first six sub-hypotheses (H_2 through H_7), which are related to the first set of independent variables (i.e., social background characteristics). The six sub-hypotheses relevant to this first analysis are as follows:

- H_2 : Caucasian women are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women of color.
- H_3 : Younger women are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than older women.
- H_4 : Women with liberal political beliefs are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women with conservative political beliefs.
- H_5 : Women with higher incomes are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women with lower incomes.
- H_6 : Women who are employed are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who are unemployed.

- H₇: Women who are single or without a significant other/partner are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who are in intimate relationships.

Thus, the first purpose of this section is to investigate the relationships between participants' background characteristics and the extent of their depilation from public/private body areas. Bivariate analyses were also carried out to determine relationships between participants' background characteristics and other independent variables. Over 200 bivariate analyses (e.g., chi-square tests and t-tests) were performed to examine whether participants' social background characteristics were at all related to participants' bodily routines and attitudes about beauty/body hair, perceptions of social rewards/consequences, socialization to hairlessness norms and depilation from public and private body areas. Chi-square and t-test results revealed that sociodemographic characteristics were not significantly related to other independent variables or the dependent variables used in this study (see Tables 1-7 in Appendix G and Tables 1-7 in Appendix I). Significant chi-square and t-tests seem to occur at random, in that no patterns were found in these results. These results are described briefly in the following paragraphs.

The first social background characteristics tested, race, yielded the highest number of significant chi-square tests (14 out of 200). The first relationship, race and body areas depilated revealed that the significant chi-square analyses were between the independent variable, black women and the dependent variables, nasal areas, shoulders, upper back, stomach areas, and "other" facial areas, and upper lip (see Table 1 in Appendix I). No other significant tests were found between women of other

racial/ethnic backgrounds and the specific body areas depilated. There was one significant relationship between white participants and the attitudinal statement, “Having body hair is unattractive”. Relationships between black participants and the statements, “How important to you is your physical appearance,” “Do you diet?” “Having body hair is annoying,” and “Having body hair is unnatural” were significant as well. In addition, findings indicated that there were three significant relationships between the variables, Hispanic women and the statements: “Do you hide your hair removal practices from others,” “Do you think removing body hair has ever affected your life in a positive way?” and “How important to you is your physical appearance?” (see Tables 1-7 in Appendix G).

Participants were asked to comment about their attitudes towards racial differences and body hair/hair removal. There were two open-ended survey questions: “Do you think women of *different* racial/ethnic groups have the same attitudes about and/or practices of body hair removal?” and “Do you think women of your *same* racial/ethnic group are more hairy than women of different racial/ethnic groups than you?” Twenty-one participants provided comments to the first question and eight participants provided comments to the second question. As for the first question, four comments were specific to Black/African American women and their body hair:

“African American women seem less concerned about body hair”

“Black women do not care about their body hair”

“Black women do not shave their legs”

“Black women have this confidence about them”

These comments suggest that the participants' perceptions of Black or African American women are that not only are they less concerned with their appearance, but also, they are not attempting to conform to beauty standards. The following comments are still related to the first question, but are not specific to one race. Therefore, these comments encompass participants' attitudes towards women of different racial/ethnic groups and body hair/hair removal:

"Different cultures have different views of beauty."

"Everyone has body hair and all women must remove at least one body part."

"I notice women of all backgrounds and they are hair-free in areas that I can see."

"I just know that some women of different groups don't shave any of their body hair."

"I think they are hairier than U.S. women."

"I work with a lot of different women and we are all the same."

"Some ethnic groups are not appalled by body hair as we are in the States. Some don't care (lucky them), perhaps it is even a symbol of beauty."

"I think most women are concerned about it, but remove it differently, like from different body parts."

"I believe that body hair is considered beautiful in other cultures, and that they might remove their body hair differently."

"Some ethnic women have coarser hair so they prefer waxing; others have little hair so shaving is an easy and cheap option."

"Different cultures have different beauty standards and their practices might be more painful or they might not have as many hair removal options as us."

"I think that some men find hairy legs attractive and women from different cultures use different methods to attract men..."

"They simply have different beliefs."

Participants' comments suggest that all women remove their body hair, and this behavior is not depended on one's racial/ethnic background. Other participants stated that women of different racial/ethnic groups remove hair from different bodily areas and two participants mentioned that the difference is between the hair removal methods or techniques the women of different racial backgrounds utilize. In three comments, the participants associated becoming beautiful with body hair removal, and thus, highlighting that some think that beauty can be achieved via body hair removal. One participant stated that women of different racial/ethnic groups use different hair removal methods to attract men, which hints at the fact that women have knowledge and/or experiences with social rewards women receive for hairless bodies. Thus, participants' attitudes towards women of different racial/ethnic groups varied, but most of their comments suggest that women of different racial/ethnic groups remove their body hair, and thus, attempting to adhere to beauty norms. Yet, attitudes towards Black/African American women were that they were just not attempting to conform to beauty standards. This little evidence should be explored further as it suggests that there may be some links between different racial locations and body hair attitudes.

Participants were asked whether they thought that women of their same racial/ethnic group were more hairy than women of other racial/ethnic groups and their comments were:

"European girls are as furry as their fathers"

"I think European women are hairier than Americans"

"If they are the same then they have black hair and it shows a lot!"

"Most women like me don't have body hair, except for our eyebrows and upper lips"

“Oh hell yeah!”

“This is a “yes” and a “no”. Yes, because we can be hairier than some cultures, and no because other cultures aren’t as hairy.”

“We are hairy from head to toe and I don’t care if you think you are hiding it, you are hairy.”

Participants’ attitudes about women of their same racial/ethnic groups and whether they are hairier than women of other racial/ethnic groups indicated that five of the seven comments were of women who suggest that their bodies have more hair than others or that their body hair is darker than others. These comments may reflect that a sizeable portion of this sample inferred unhappiness or dissatisfaction with their appearances. Although these comments are limited, they may hint at the fact that some women do notice others’ visible body hair, and thus, these women may also be aware of the negative social reactions that accompany hairy bodies. Nevertheless, these comments further support bivariate findings, and thus, findings related to differences between race and body hair/hair removal are inconclusive in this study.

The following social background characteristics were significant in less than 14 chi-square tests each: religion (13 tests significant), individual income (three tests significant), family income (four tests significant), employment status (three tests significant), employment capacity (full-time-three tests significant and part-time-five tests significant), age (nine tests significant), relationship status (two tests significant), and political beliefs (zero tests significant). When examining the 13 chi-square relationships between religious affiliations (i.e., Protestant, Catholic, and Muslim participants) and depilation from certain body areas findings revealed that the religion variable, Protestant, was significantly related to the following dependent variables

related to areas of depilation: nasal areas, shoulders, stomach area, and bikini line. Additionally, Protestant affiliations were significantly related with the following six attitudinal statements: “How important to you is your physical health,” “My parents have seen me remove my body hair,” “My partner has seen me remove my body hair,” “How important to you is your hygiene,” “How important is it that you appear clean,” and “Hair-free women are more likely to get jobs.” One significant test was found for the variables Catholic affiliations and removal from the chin area. The independent variable, Muslim affiliations, and hair removal from the upper lip and underarms were significant as well. No other significance was found between these two religious affiliations and body hair/hair removal attitudes.

Seven significant relationships were found between income (both individual and family), body areas depilated, and body hair attitudes. There was one test between the variables individual income of \$10,999 or below and depilation from the ears. The variable, individual income of \$11,000 or higher, was significantly related to depilation from arms and legs. No significant relationships were found between individual income and body hair/hair removal attitudes. One significant relationship existed between the variables higher family incomes and depilation from the forehead. Also, the variable family income was significantly related to three attitudinal statements. Specifically, the variable family income was significantly associated with the statements, “Body hair is disgusting,” “I hide my hair removal practices from my partner/significant other,” and “Have you ever talked to anyone about your body hair?”

Eleven significant tests were found between employment status (and capacity) and body area depilation. Chi-square analysis yielded one significant test between the

participants' employment status (employed versus other employment statuses) and depilation from the pubic area, but left a patch, strip, or triangle. Another two significant relationships were found between employment status and the attitudinal variables, "How important is it that your body be thin?" and "There is family pressure to remove my body hair." Full-time employment was significantly related to depilation from the buttocks and the two attitudinal statements: "How important is it that your body be thin?" and "My partner wants me to remove my body hair." Finally, the remaining five significant tests were between part-time employment, depilation from certain body areas, and body hair/hair removal attitudes. Specifically, chi-square analyses revealed that there was one significant relationship between part-time employment and depilation from the stomach area. Additionally, this variable was significantly related to four attitudinal statements: "How important to you is your hygiene?" "Having body hair is unnatural," "Do you think removing body hair has ever affected your intimate relationships in a positive way?" and "Do you think that hair-free women are more likely to get hired for jobs?"

Four significant relationships existed between participants' age and depilation from nasal areas, neck, entire pubic and anal areas, and pubic area, but left a patch, strip, or triangle shape. Further, chi-square tests revealed that the variable, age, and these five attitudinal statements: "My parents have seen me remove my body hair," "I receive more social approval when my body is hairless," "I have been embarrassed because of my body hair," "How important to you is your physical appearance?" and "It is important to me to appear clean most of the time" were significant as well.

Finally, two significant relationships were yielded between the variables relationship status and depilation from the ears and hands. No other significant chi-square relationships were found between participants' relationship status, body area depilation, or body hair/hair removal attitudes. Therefore, overall, chi-square findings revealed that social background characteristics do not predict participants' attitudes towards beauty/body hair or body hair removal, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms. In sum, the independent variables seem unrelated to the social background variables in this study.

Subsequent, t-test analyses were utilized to investigate the associations between the same social background characteristics and the two modified dependent variables which were the extent of depilation from public and the extent of depilation from private body areas. Forty-five were conducted and findings revealed that only three t-tests between social background characteristics and depilation from public/private body areas were significant (see Table 1 in Appendix F). Thus, depilation from public and private bodily areas may be linked to university women's ages and incomes (both individual and family), but little else seemed significant in these results. In the three significant tests, it was found that women with family incomes of \$41,000 or higher reported depilating hair from more public body areas than women with lower family incomes ($M=5.48$ vs. $M=5.08$) ($t=-2.142$, $df=289$, $p=.033$) (see Table 1 in Appendix F). In addition, women with individual incomes of \$10,999 or below ($M=2.52$) reported depilating hair from more private body areas than women with higher individual incomes ($M=2.07$) ($t=-2.125$, $df=160$, $p=.035$). Finally, women 25 years or younger ($M=2.49$), reported depilating hair from more private body areas than women in the older age category ($M=2.06$) ($t=2.02$,

$df=123$, $p=.045$). Thus, hypothesis 3 and hypothesis 5 were supported in part by these analyses, but these findings should be further explored based on the little significance found in these analyses. There were no other significant tests, and thus, the remaining four hypotheses (H_2 , H_4 , H_6 , and H_7) could not be supported with these data. In general, bivariate analyses based on this sample's data are inconclusive.

Further analyses of the connections among various independent variables led to similarly random results of significance. For instance, t-test findings revealed that seven significant tests were found between social background characteristics and the sets of independent variables representing bodily routines, attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms (see Tables 2, 4, and 7 in Appendix G). Findings related to beauty and clothing routines yielded two out of 15 tests and one out of 15 tests respectively. Specifically, Muslim participants and participants with individual incomes of \$11,000 or higher reported that they include more beauty routines into their daily lives than participants with other religious affiliations or participants with lower individual incomes (see Table 2 in Appendix G). Hispanic participants also reported wearing less revealing clothes than women of other racial/ethnic groups.

Results related to social background characteristics and participants' knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences revealed that only one t-test (out of 15) was significant (see Table 7 in Appendix G). For instance, participants with family incomes of \$40,999 or below reported having knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards for hairlessness more frequently than participants in higher family income categories. None of the 15 t-tests examining the relationships between social

background characteristics and knowledge of and/or experience with negative social consequences were significant.

Another 15 t-tests were conducted and findings revealed that there were two significant t-tests for each variable, female socialization and media socialization, and one significant t-test for male socialization (see Table 4 in Appendix G). Specifically, Arabic women and women 26 years or older reported a greater extent of female socialization towards hairlessness norms than their counterparts. Single women reported more male socialization to hairlessness norms than dating women, and black participants and participants with individual incomes of \$11,000 or higher, are more likely to report more media socialization to hairlessness norms than women of other racial/ethnic groups or participants with lower individual incomes.

In the following sections, over 300 t-tests were conducted to assess the relationships between the independent variables representing bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms; and the dependent variables, depilation from public and private body areas. The findings below reveal that only 21 out of 317 t-tests were significant. Thus, these findings are presented with caution. Because the lack of significant bivariate results, participants' open-ended comments are included below to attempt to make some sense of potential relationships within data, as the analysis of open-ended comments could lead to a better understanding of the bivariate relationships that need to be explored in future studies.

Relationships between Attitudes towards Body Hair, Engagement in Other Bodily Routines, and Public/Private Depilation

Bivariate analyses were conducted next to investigate the relationship between bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair and the extent of depilation from public and private body areas. The seventeen independent attitudinal variables were separated into four groups and before being used in t-test analyses. The first group examined represented appearance-related attitudes and behaviors. The three variables used in this first group were: “I feel feminine when I remove my body hair,” “I remove my body hair to avoid looking masculine,” and “Having body hair is unattractive.” The second group of independent variables represented attitudes and behaviors about weight maintenance. The variables used to represent weight-related attitudes were: “I worry about my weight/body size,” “Do you diet?” “How important to you is having a thin body?” The third group of variables represented hygiene-related attitudes and depilation from public/private body locations. The three independent variables used to examine hygiene-related attitudes were: “How important to you is your hygiene?” “I remove my body hair to look cleaner,” and “Having body hair is unclean.”

The fourth group of independent variables characterizes university women’s attitudes towards body hair. The six variables utilized to assess any possible connections between participants’ attitudes towards body hair and the extent of women’s public/private depilation included: “I hide my hair removal practices,” “How do you feel about body hair in general?”, “How do you feel about body hair removal?”, “Body hair is disgusting,” “Body hair is annoying,” and “Having body hair is unnatural.” Additionally, two other variables were utilized in the assessment of women’s bodily

routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair and depilation behaviors. These variables were, “How important to you is your physical health?” and “How important is your physical appearance?”

First, another 45 t-tests were performed to examine any associations between these seventeen attitudinal variables and the two main dependent variables. (As mentioned earlier, these independent variables were recoded and dichotomized before being used in t-tests). Next, bivariate correlations were conducted to measure the strength and direction of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. It should be noted that although the results presented below are significant thus showing mean differences between participants’ attitudes (those who reported agreeing or disagreeing) and their depilation behaviors (the extent of body hair removal from public/private body areas), the participants reported removing hair from similar numbers of bodily areas upon further analysis. In other words, the mean differences are slight at best, and therefore, the following results are presented with caution.

The overall analyses in this section correspond with nine sub-hypotheses (H_8 - H_{14} , H_{20} and H_{21}). The nine sub-hypotheses that guided these analyses were:

- H_8 : Women who perceive body hair as unfeminine are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who perceive body hair as feminine.
- H_9 : Women who perceive body hair as unattractive are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who perceive body hair as attractive.
- H_{10} : Women who report negative attitudes towards body hair are likely to

remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who report positive attitudes towards body hair.

- H₁₁: Women who perceive body hair as unnatural are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who perceive body hair as natural.
- H₁₂: Women who report taking part in regular bodily routines other than body hair removal are likely to report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not report taking part in other bodily routines.
- H₁₃: Women who report wearing skirts or other revealing clothing are likely to report removing hair from more public/private body sites than women who do not report wearing revealing clothing.
- H₁₄: Women who report dieting or worrying about body weight are likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not report engaging in weight maintenance.
- H₂₀: University women who believe that hygiene is important will report negative attitudes about body hair.
- H₂₁: University women who believe that hygiene is important will report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not report that hygiene is important.

Findings reveal that five (H₉, H₁₀, H₁₁, H₁₄, and H₂₁) of the nine sub-hypotheses were supported (in part), but these findings should be explored further as these sub-

hypotheses were not fully supported by the data. These results are explained in more detail below.

Associations between appearance-related attitudes and depilation.

Numerous t-test analyses were conducted to investigate the association between university women's attitudes and efforts around their physical appearance and the extent of their depilation from public/private body sites. In t-test results about women's depilation from private body areas, participants who agreed with the statement, "I remove my body hair to avoid looking masculine," reported removing hair from more private body areas than participants who reported disagreeing with the statement ($M=2.64$ vs. $M=2.22$ respectively) ($t= 2.095$, $df=289$, $p=.037$) (see Table 2 in Appendix F). No significant differences were found among participants who agreed or disagreed with the statement, "I feel feminine when I remove my body hair," however. Therefore, in this sample, attitudinal connections between femininity and body hair removal do not determine the number of private body areas from which women remove hair. Therefore hypothesis 8 is not supported, at least in the case of removal of private body hair.

Findings nevertheless indicate that hypothesis 9 is supported, at least in part. Specifically, participants who agreed that "Having body hair is unattractive" reported removing hair from more private body locations than participants who disagreed with this statement ($M=2.64$ vs. $M=2.19$ respectively) ($t= 2.286$, $df=289$, $p=.023$). No significance was found between attitudes about body hair and the extent of public depilation, however. Based on these results, one might conclude that there is no definitive evidence that attitudes about body hair are associated with the extent of participants' removal from public body areas.

Attitudes and behaviors surrounding weight maintenance and depilation.

The second group of t-tests assessed whether participants who reported weight-related attitudes (i.e., dieting and/or worrying about weight/body size) also remove hair from more public or private areas of their bodies, or hypothesis 14. Based on t-tests results, participants who reported worrying about their weight also reported removing hair from more private body areas than participants who did not report worrying about their weight ($M=2.47$ vs. $M=1.90$) ($t= -2.271$, $df=56.475$, $p=.027$) (see Table 2 in Appendix F). Participants who reported dieting also indicated that they remove hair from more public body sites than participants who did not diet ($M=5.47$ vs. $M=4.69$) ($t= -2.685$, $df=58.374$, $p=.009$). Attitudes and behaviors related to weight maintenance are associated with the amount of depilation from both public and private body areas. There is unclear support for hypothesis 14, as results yielded only one significant test for each public and private body areas.

Connections between hygiene-related attitudes and depilation.

This area examined possible connections between hygiene-related attitudes and behaviors, and the extent of depilation from public/private body locations. The three independent variables used to examine the effects of hygiene-related attitudes and behaviors on public/private depilation using t-test analyses were: “How important to you is your hygiene?” “I remove my body hair to look cleaner,” and “Having body hair is unclean.” These variables correspond with hypotheses 20 and 21 (cited above).

T-test findings revealed that the connections between hygiene-related attitudes and behaviors and the extent of depilation from public/private body areas are unclear based on the data from this sample of university students. For instance, participants

who disagreed with the statement, “I remove my body hair to look cleaner,” reported removing the hair from significantly more public body areas than participants who agreed with this statement ($M=5.98$ vs. $M=5.22$) ($t=3.115$, $df=289$, $p=.002$) (see Table 2 in Appendix F). On the other hand, participants who agreed with the statement, “Having body hair is unclean,” also reported removing hair from more public body areas than their counterparts ($M=5.49$ vs. $M=5.13$) ($t= -1.984$, $df=235$, $p=.048$). Thus, while some sort of relationship exists between hygiene-related attitudes and the extent of depilation, it cannot be proven based on these results that cleanliness is a reason for increased depilation. In open-ended comments about hygiene, one participant stated, “I don’t care what other people think, [body hair removal] is about my personal hygiene,” and the other stated, “Removing hair is part of my hygiene routine and I don’t have time to worry about who sees.” Two other participants stated, “Body hair removal controls body odor,” and “Hairless parts look cleaner,” however, still making it unclear whether there is a hygiene-related reason behind public/private depilation. Moreover, no significant mean differences were found between the attitudinal statement, “How important is your hygiene?”, and whether women report negative attitudes about body hair; therefore, hypothesis 20 is not supported.

While we could say that hypothesis 21 is supported in part, in that participants who reported hygiene-related attitudes, such as “Having body hair is unclean,” also removed hair from more public body areas, it is safer to report that results are inconclusive because this is only one significant finding. Furthermore, a similar finding does not surface in analyses of the extent of women’s depilation from private body areas. Support for hypothesis 21 is weak at best.

Relationships between Women's Attitudes toward Body Hair and Body Hair Removal, and Depilation from Public/Private Areas

Finally, t-test analyses were conducted to investigate the associations between university women's attitudes towards body hair and body hair removal, and the extent of depilation from public and/or private body sites. As mentioned, the six independent variables that were utilized to assess any possible connections between participants' attitudes towards body hair and the extent of public/private depilation included: "I hide my hair removal practices", "How do you feel about body hair in general?", "How do you feel about body hair removal?", "Body hair is disgusting," "Body hair is annoying," and "Having body hair is unnatural."

Findings revealed significant differences between these three attitudinal statements, "Body hair is disgusting," "Body hair is annoying," "Having body hair is unnatural," and the extent of their hair removal from public and private body areas (see Table 2 in Appendix F). Specifically, participants who agreed with the statement, "Body hair is disgusting," reported removing hair from more public body areas than their counterparts ($M=5.56$ vs. $M=5.05$) ($t= -2.823$, $df=246$, $p=.005$). Findings further indicated participants who reported agreeing that having body hair is annoying removed hair from significantly more public body areas than participants who disagreed with the statement, "Having body hair is annoying" ($M=5.64$ vs. $M=4.95$) ($t= -3.913$, $df=289$, $p=.000$), and as a result from these findings, hypothesis 10 is supported in part in that women who report negative attitudes towards body hair are likely to remove hair from more public body areas than their counterparts. In addition, participants who agreed with the statement, "Having body hair is unnatural," reported removing hair from more

public body areas than participants who disagreed with the statement ($M=5.52$ vs. $M=5.16$) ($t= -1.976$, $df=289$, $p=.049$). Therefore, hypothesis 11 is supported in part: university women who perceive body hair as unnatural are more likely to remove hair from more public body areas. These findings are similar to previous research that focuses on women's attitudes towards body hair (Toerien & Wilkinson, 2004; Tiggermann & Lewis, 2004; Tiggermann & Hodgson, 2008).

When comparing participants' attitudes towards body hair and their depilation from private body areas, however, different patterns result. For instance, t-test findings suggest that participants who disagreed with the statement, "Having body hair is disgusting," reported removing hair from more private body areas than participants who agreed ($M=2.67$ vs. $M=2.17$) ($t= 2.537$, $df=289$, $p=.012$). Moreover, participants who disagreed with the statement, "Having body hair is annoying," reported removing hair from more private body areas than their counterparts ($M=2.69$ vs. $M=2.16$) ($t= 2.692$, $df=289$, $p=.008$). In other words, it can be inferred that participants who reported removing hair from more private body areas had more positive (or at least more neutral) attitudes towards body hair than those who removed less. These findings run contradictory to the findings about the relationship between attitudes towards body hair and depilation from public body areas or hypothesis 10. Some negative comments towards body hair were included from three participants who stated, "Facial hair is gross," "It's only hair, yeah it's gross, but its only hair," and "Unless you are a man, nobody should see your moustache." Other open-ended comments were more neutral, such as "Body hair is not a big deal," and "I never really think about it." Thus, perhaps the support for hypotheses 10 and 11 is not as strong as initially thought, if we think

about the differences between findings about the extent of public and private area depilation.

Findings further suggest that participants' attitudes towards the statements, "I hide my hair removal practices," "In general, how do you feel about your body hair?" and "In general, how do you feel about removing your body hair?" significantly affected their depilation from public body areas. For instance, when asked how they felt about removing their body hair, participants who answered that it is "necessary" also reported removing hair from more public body areas than their counterparts ($M=5.51$ vs. $M=5.05$) ($t=-2.501$, $df=275$, $p=.013$). Moreover, participants who indicated that they hide their hair removal practices also reported removing hair from more public body sites than participants who do not hide their depilation practices ($M=5.53$ vs. $M=5.10$) ($t=-2.328$, $df=247.9$, $p=.021$). Further, participants were asked to explain why they hide or do not hide their hair removal practices. Of the 42 comments provided, only 29 comments were related to this question. Fifteen participants indicated the reasons why they hide their hair removal from others:

"A fur bikini is never appreciated so I hide that, I get waxed,"

"Body hair removal is gross and unnatural,"

"How you make yourself beautiful should be private,"

"I want people to think I am naturally like this,"

"It's a private matter,"

"I don't think it's normal for people to have other people watch them remove their body hair,"

"I only shave my armpits and I do that in the shower when I am naked, so I don't show anyone my nakedness,"

"I think it's a private practice and people do not need to see it being done,"

"I was just taught that women should not have hair that shows,"

"I was taught that this is private and nobody should know you have [body] hair cause that is not girl-like"

"I was told that this is something private and disgusting,"

"My parents are from India and would not approve of my hair removal practices,"

"No one wants to admit to the world that they are imperfect,"

"Removing hair from some parts are not really meant to be seen by your parents"

"People will make fun of me if I don't remove my body hair"

Some participants used words, such as "disgusting," "gross," and "unnatural" to describe that their attitudes towards body hair were negative, and thus, the reason why they hide their body hair removal from others. Others indicated that they hide this behavior because body hair removal is a way in which they attempt to achieve beauty. Three participants were taught/told that women should not have visible body hair, and its removal should be hidden from others. These comments further illustrate that women are socialized to hairlessness norms. One participant stated that body hair is a flaw and that she does not want to show these flaws to others. This may hint at the fact that some participants may be cognizant of the perceived negative social reactions they could receive for bodily imperfections, such as hairy bodies. Finally, others replied that they choose to remove their body hair when they are in the shower, or otherwise exposed, and thus, to them, this behavior is hidden from others because of where it takes place (e.g. the bathroom). Eleven participants' comments alternatively suggest some of the reasons why they choose not to hide their hair removal from others:

"Everyone does it,"

"I am comfortable with my body, so if people are in the bathroom while I'm showering then they get to see what I am doing,"

"I don't care what others think,"

"I don't hide it because I don't think it matters if I have hair or if I don't, it's my business and if I choose to do it then it's on me."

"I don't mind if my family or friends know, if I don't remove it they'll see it anyways,"

"I remove everything and I don't care who sees me,"

"I think it's sexy for my man to watch,"

"It's not a secret, everyone does it so why hide it?"

"It's a common practice so there is no reason to hide it,"

"When I try new things, like laser removal, I go with my friends,"

"Why hide it? People know you remove it anyways"

It can be seen that most of the participants consider body hair removal to be a common, mundane, or trivial behavior. One participant said that there was no reason to hide depilation behaviors from others because "Everyone does it." These comments highlight the fact that the study of hairlessness norms have received little research attention because this "practice of removing unwanted body hair is so normative in Western cultures as to go unremarked" (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008:889). Finally, three participants stated that whether they hide their body hair removal or not depends on the body area:

"I show my body for a living, so I am not too concerned about who sees me shave my armpits, but I still won't let a pro do my privates,"

"When doing my eyebrows I could care less, but for everything else I want people to think that I am not furry, so why would I show them that I am[?]"

"When shaving your genitals you get into some crazy positions and people don't need to see that."

Therefore, whether or not they hide their hair removal practices from others depends on whether or not the specific body part is located in a public/visible or private/hidden body area (e.g., eyebrows versus bikini area). Open-ended results highlighted participants' attitudes towards body hair and/or hair removal, and while it is apparent that some individual participants do or do not adhere to specific beauty norms and specific attitudes towards body hair and its removal, there is no pattern between what participants think and the extent of their depilation from public/private areas. Thus, these results are just as inconclusive as the statistical analyses. In the following section, I explore participants' knowledge of and/or experiences with the social rewards and/or social consequences associated with adherence to or violation of hairlessness norms.

Connections between Social Rewards/Consequences and Depilation from Public/Private Areas

Bivariate analyses were conducted to explore the relationships between university women's experiences with social rewards and social consequences and the extent of women's depilation of body hair (from public and private areas). As discussed in Chapter Four, "social rewards," are defined as the things women do which may elicit positive reactions from others and may result in material and/or immaterial benefits related to dating, socializing, and employment, for the individual. The five independent variables used to assess participants' experiences with social rewards were: "Others notice my body hair when it's not removed," "My friends remove their body hair," "Would you go out socializing without removing your body hair?" "Would you go to work without removing your body hair?", and "Body hair removal has positively affected my life". In

addition, “social consequences” are defined as the perceived negative social reactions that participants believe they receive for violating hairlessness norms (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008). These analyses were conducted with the following five independent variables, “Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair?” “Body hair is ugly,” “There is family pressure to remove my body hair,” “I remove my body hair to avoid teasing/negative attention,” and “Body hair increases body odor”. This section is guided by the following four sub-hypotheses:

- H₁₅: Women who report knowledge of and/or past experience with social rewards for hairlessness will report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not have this knowledge and/or experience.
- H₁₆: Women who report knowledge of and/or past experience with negative sanctions towards hairy bodies will report removing hair from more public/private body areas than women who do not have this knowledge and/or experience.
- H₁₇: Women will report removing more public/visible body areas than private/hidden body areas.
- H₁₈: Women who think that others notice their hairy/hairless bodies are likely to remove body hair from more public/private areas than women who do not think that others notice their body hair.

As previously discussed, the set of independent variables that represent social rewards and social consequences were dichotomized for the purposes of bivariate analyses. Results regarding the relationships between these independent variables and the two main dependent variables are examined separately.

Bivariate findings revealed that half of the hypothesis (H_{15} and H_{18}) were supported at least in part. For instance, participants who answered “no” to the statement, “Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?” reported removing hair from more public areas than participants who reported in the affirmative ($M=5.47$ vs. $M=4.86$) ($t= 2.339$, $df=81.49$, $p=.022$) (see Table 3 in Appendix F). Participants who reported having some knowledge of their friends’ body hair removal behavior reported removing hair from more private body areas than their counterparts ($M=2.72$ vs. $M=2.18$) ($t= -2.547$, $df=208$, $p=.012$). In addition, participants who believed that others noticed their hairless/hairy bodies reported removing hair from more private body areas than participants who did not believe that others noticed, and thus, hypothesis 18 was supported, at least in part. Moreover, hypothesis 15 was supported in part since there was one significant test when predicting the mean number of public areas depilated and two significant tests when predicted the mean number of private areas depilated. However, these results should be explored further because significance was not found for any statement across both dependent variables. Thus, support for this hypothesis is weak.

Nonetheless, when asked to give examples of how hair removal had positively affected their lives, three participants stated that their personal life was positively affected because they could “bypass the lines at the bars,” “[get] free drinks,” and “[get] tables at the clubs.” Two also mentioned that their professional lives were positively affected: “I got better shifts at work” and “More job offers.” One participant stated, “I would rather look clean and composed when going to a job interview and if that means

waxing my upper lip, then I'll do it." Additionally, eight participants commented on how hair removal had positively affected their intimate relationships:

"I do it for my boyfriend, because he loves when I remove my body hair,"

"Hair removal is something we do together; I think it's sexy,"

"He is more likely to run his hands over my smooth legs,"

"My partner is more turned on when there is minimal body hair,"

"My partner noticed me."

The remaining three participants provided more general comments:

"All the guys I have dated like my smooth legs,"

"I look sexier,"

"Most guys don't want to run their hands across hairy picky legs (or other parts)."

As shown, participants want to remove their body hair because their partners/boyfriends like hair-free bodies, which further highlights that women may attempt to look a certain way, such as being hair-free because they have knowledge and/or experiences with social rewards for hairlessness. Two participants indicated that they have better sexual experiences when their bodies are hair-free. One participant said, "My partner noticed me," which suggests that women who think that others notice their hairless/hairy bodies are likely to remove body hair from more public/private areas, and thus, provides some additional support for hypothesis 18 as a result. Participants were also asked to give some examples of how they think they have benefited because of their physical appearances. Three participants stated that they benefited in their professional lives: "Better jobs," "Better shifts," and "The better I look, the easier school and work is." Other comments illustrate how they benefited in their personal lives:

"Finding the opposite sex to date,"

“Getting into clubs for free, drinking for free, and other stuff,”

“Getting free stuff,”

“The guy at Subway gave me a lower price on my food cause I look good,”

“If people think I look cute while I’m in the stores, then I will get things for free,”

“Let’s be honest, life is easier when you are attractive,”

“While on dates, people tend to respond to you more positively.”

Based on these open-ended comments, more participants believed they experience social rewards in their personal/social lives than in their professional lives. Collectively, these comments also provide some evidence that participants are knowledgeable of and/or have experience social rewards for hairless bodies. Thus, while t-test analyses are still somewhat inconclusive, in that only three significant tests were found, open-ended comments seem to suggest that women do indeed remove body hair (both public and private) in order to adhere to social norms and receive social rewards.

The sets of variables representing social consequences for hairy bodies were also assessed, in an effort to support hypothesis 16. Findings revealed that participants who reported that they had been embarrassed because of their body hair also reported removing hair from more public body areas than participants who had not been embarrassed ($M=5.54$ vs. $M=5.03$) ($t= -2.781$, $df=270$, $p=.006$) (see Table 4 in Appendix F). Further, in support of this finding, some examples given by the participants of their experiences with negative social reactions for hairy bodies include:

“A guy in my math class made fun of me for having hair on my upper lip, so I immediately started waxing it,”

“In high school gym class, all the girls looked at me and laughed because I had hairy underarms,”

"I forgot to shave my underarms and I wore a tank top, my boyfriend was totally grossed out,"

"Some guy noticed this one chin hair and now I always have to pluck it because I am self-conscious about it,"

"I have very thick body hair and I was always teased about it,"

"I have very thick hair on my arms and I am very self-conscious about it,"

"I have very coarse arm hair and when I was in swimming classes the girls would look at me in disgust,"

"I used to hair a unibrow and this guy made fun of me, so I went home and removed it immediately,"

"Someone noticed my moustache, so I bleached it and, then, someone called me peach fuzz,"

"When I was younger people always noticed my bushy eyebrows."

Fewer participants reported being embarrassed because of body hair in private/hidden areas. Nonetheless, two participants commented: "I forgot to shave my bikini line and wore a bathing suit. I covered my legs with a towel the whole time," and the other recalled, "People have made fun of me because of my lower back hair." As illustrated, participants recalled being embarrassed when their body hair was visible to others, more than the participants who remembered being embarrassed because of body hair located in private areas. These comments further support or clarify t-tests findings, in that participants do seem knowledgeable of and/or experience negative consequences for hairy bodies and report removing hair from more public body areas as a result. However, only one of the five statements representing knowledge of and/or experience with social consequences significantly affected the mean number of public areas depilated (and none of these statements significantly affected the mean number of private areas depilated); thus, hypothesis 16 cannot be supported by this analysis. The

number of open-ended comments about participants' knowledge of and/or experience with social consequences, however, does indicate that this topic should be explored further. In the next section, relationships between participants' socialization to hairlessness norms and the extent of depilation from public/private areas are explored.

Relationships between Socialization to Hairlessness Norms and Depilation from Public/Private Body Areas

T-test analyses were conducted to assess the relationships between participants' socialization to hairlessness norms and the extent of their depilation from public/private body areas. As mentioned, a total of 17 independent variables were created from the variable, "Who taught you body hair removal practices?" These analyses were guided by hypothesis 19: Women's socialization to hairlessness norms will affect their current removal practices from public/private body areas. Findings revealed that there were six significant relationships between the 17 socializing agents and the extent of depilation from public body areas (see Table 5 in Appendix F). Specifically, participants who indicated that they were socialized to hairlessness norms by the following individuals: aunt (M=5.92 vs. M=5.16) ($t = -3.593$, $df=289$, $p=.000$); grandmother (M=6.30 vs. M=5.21) ($t = -3.985$, $df=289$, $p=.000$); teacher⁷ (M=6.38 vs. M=5.25) ($t = -3.309$, $df=289$, $p=.001$), female friends (M=5.63 vs. M=4.87) ($t = -4.255$, $df=289$, $p=.000$); nephew (M=5.80 vs. M=5.28) ($t = -2.289$, $df=43.05$, $p=.027$); and/or the internet (M=5.75 vs. M=5.21) ($t = -2.534$, $df=289$, $p=.012$) also reported removing hair from more public body areas than their counterparts. Findings further revealed that there were no significant

⁷ The variable, teachers, was not included in any further analyses or as part of any count variable representing "female" or "male" socialization, as the gender of the teacher was not specified for these analyses.

relationships between any of these socializing agents and depilation from private body areas. Hypothesis 19 is partially supported by these bivariate analyses, in that participants' socialization to hairlessness norms affects their depilation from public body areas. Women's socialization to hairlessness norms did not affect their removal practices for private body areas.

There were four open-ended questions that asked participants to give more details about their attitudes towards socialization to hairlessness norms, and women's open-ended comments provide further support for the importance of the socialization variables in this study. Survey questions asked participants, "What is your earliest memory of learning about body hair removal?" "What were you taught about body hair/body hair removal?" "Have you ever talked to anyone about your body hair?" and "Have you ever talked to anyone about your body hair removal practices?" In relation to the first question, 40 participants recalled their first memory. Examples of "first memories" are found below:

"I was at a slumber party and we used Nair on our legs,"

"Watching friends shave their legs and, then, deciding to do it myself,"

"I was in the sixth grade and the other girls dared me to shave my legs, ever since then I've continued to do it,"

"I saw my father shaving his face/upper lip and my mom was at work, so when he left the bathroom I took his razor and shaved my face/upper lip, I cut myself so bad that I needed 10 stitches and now I have a scar,"

"I was made fun of a lot at school for having hairy legs, so my mom and grandma helped me shave my legs, but they informed me that I shouldn't shave above the knee (gross)"

"When I moved back to the US, my older sister told me that I had to shave my legs and underarms 'cause this is what women do here."

These comments illustrate that body hair removal is a common and accepted practice for many, illustrating the existence of a hairlessness norm. More specifically, though, in most cases, the participants also recalled the first body part from which they depilated and, for many, this was a public/visible body area. There were no open-ended comments detailing first experiences with depilation of private/hidden body areas.

Another 38 women provided examples of what they were taught about body hair and/or hair removal. Most of their comments were specific about body hair removal techniques and/or methods:

“Be careful”

“Don’t cut yourself and go slow”

“Use warm water and soap and with a razor use long strokes”

“What creams to use or what trimmers work the best”

“Don’t shave above the knee ‘cause sluts only do that”

“There is no need to shave above the knee, be careful, and shave upward”

“It’s a pain; once you start you cannot stop”

“Just do your armpits”

Other comments were more gender-specific and/or appearance-related:

“It itches when it grows back, but it makes you feel free and sexy”

“It makes you look like a sexy women”

“Removing your body hair makes you attractive”

“Women should do it because it makes them feminine”

“Women are not supposed to be hairy”

Thus, some of the participants associated this practice with gendered norms, in that women should remove body hair because it makes them look more “attractive,”

“feminine” and “sexy.” Others associated this practice with pain or defined it as a regular routine, thus defining it somewhat more negatively. Some participants recalled the specific body areas from which they were taught either to remove or not remove hair, and others remembered being taught about hair removal techniques and which depilatory methods to use. Next, participants remember speaking to the following people about their body hair/body hair removal: “I’ve asked my cousins and coworkers about what methods they have tried,” and “At work we talk about our preferred practices.” Others preferred speaking with their “cousins,” “friends,” “mom,” “partner,” and “sister,” about body hair/hair removal issues. Similar to the conclusions we can make about t-test results, all of these comments illustrate that the participants in this sample were socialized to hairlessness norms and that this socialization still affects their removal of body hair from public body areas.

In summary, t-tests revealed that two hypotheses (H_3 and H_5) related to participants’ social background characteristics, four hypotheses (H_9 , H_{11} , H_{14} , and H_{21}) related to bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body, two hypotheses (H_{15} and H_{18}) related to knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and one hypothesis related to socialization to hairlessness norms (H_{19}), were supported, at least in part, by the bivariate analyses. In addition, hypothesis 17 was fully supported, in that, participants in this sample reported removing hair from more public/visible body areas than private/hidden body areas. There were no significant t-tests found in support of the hypotheses related to social background characteristics (H_2 , H_4 , H_6 , and H_7), bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair (H_8 and H_{20}), and knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences (H_{16}). As mentioned throughout

this section, all of these results are presented with caution and should be explored further because, in many of these bivariate tests, significance was found for the effects of the independent variables on only one of the dependent variables and this means that none of the hypotheses are supported in full, with the exception of hypothesis 17, which was fully supported. Furthermore, because of the continual differences found between the results for the two main dependent variables, it must be proposed that the reasons for depilation from public and private body areas may be completely different. Multivariate analyses will explore this issue further.

Before the presentation of multivariate results, bivariate correlations are presented in the next section to explore the possibility that the true variation in participants' attitudes might have been lost due to data modifications or dichotomization of the variables. In addition, correlations provide justification for the order in which the variables are entered into later multivariate regression analyses. Therefore, bivariate correlations for all the original sets of independent variables that represent bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms, and the two main dependent variables are presented below.

Correlations of Independent Variables and Depilation from Public/Private Areas

Correlations measure the strength and direction of the relationship between two or more variables (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). The measurement scales used should be at least interval scales, but other correlation coefficients are available to handle other types of data. For these correlations, most of the independent variables were ordinal level and were not modified. Correlation coefficients can range from -1.00 to +1.00. The

value of -1.00 represents a perfect negative correlation while a value of +1.00 represents a perfect positive correlation. A value of 0.00 represents a lack of correlation (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). Pearson correlation is reported for the significant relationships as it determines the extent to which values of the two variables are proportional to each other. The purpose of both types of analyses (i.e., correlations and t-tests) was to examine if there were any discrepancies between the relationships using the original ordinal level (i.e., correlations), when modified (i.e., t-tests), and whether or not this limits the significant relationships found between the independent and dependent variables. Following this, bivariate correlations among the sets of independent variables related to bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms, and the two main dependent variables, the extent of depilation from public/private body areas, are explored.

Correlations of attitudinal variables, behavioral variables, and public/private depilation.

Bivariate correlations were conducted to examine the relationship between the 17-attitudinal independent variables and the two dependent variables. Several significant correlations exist among the attitudinal independent variables and the dependent variable, number of public areas depilated. As shown in Table 6 (in Appendix F), there were ten attitudinal statements that significantly correlated with the dependent variable, the extent of depilation from public body areas. These ten statements were (from strongest to weakest): “Having body hair is annoying” ($r = .244$), “How do you feel about removing body hair?” ($r = .224$), “Having body hair is disgusting”

($r = .208$), “Do you diet?” ($r = .206$), “Having body hair is unclean” ($r = .161$), “How important to you is your physical health?” ($r = -.148$), “How important to you is your hygiene?” ($r = -.147$), “Do you hide your hair removal practices?” ($r = .139$), “In general, how do you feel about your body hair?” ($r = -.134$), and “Having body hair is unnatural” ($r = .123$). All of the relationships are positive with the exception of these three: “How important to you is your physical health” ($r = -.148$), “How important to you is your hygiene?” ($r = -.147$), and “In general, how do you feel about your body hair?” ($r = -.134$).

Positive correlation values therefore suggest that participants who agreed with these statements: “Having body hair is annoying,” “Having body hair is disgusting,” “Having body hair is unnatural,” “Having body hair is unclean,” “Do you diet?” and “Do you hide your hair removal practices from others?” also reported removing body hair from more public body areas. The remaining positive relationship suggests that participants who answered the question, “In general, how do you feel about body hair removal?” with the response category, “necessary” (versus “unnecessary”) reported depilating hair from more public areas as well.

Negative correlation values therefore suggest that participants who were more likely to disagree with these statements: “How important to you is your physical health?” and “How important to you is your hygiene?” reported depilating hair from more public body areas. Additionally, participants who answered “negatively” when asked, “In general, how do you feel about your body hair?” also reported removing hair from more public body areas.

Several significant correlations also exist among attitudinal independent variables and the other dependent variable, the extent of depilation from private body areas.

Specifically, there were five variables that were significantly correlated with this dependent variable. From strongest to weakest, these five variables include: “Having body hair is unattractive” ($r = -.177$), “Having body hair is unnatural” ($r = -.157$), “Having body hair is annoying” ($r = -.156$), “Having body hair is disgusting” ($r = -.131$), and “Do you worry about your weight/body size?” ($r = .116$). The first four weak and negative relationships indicate that participants who disagreed that having body hair is “unattractive,” “unnatural,” “annoying,” or “disgusting” also reported depilated hair from more private body areas. Conversely, the relationship between the number of private areas depilated and women’s responses to the question, “Do you worry about your weight/body size?” was weak and positive ($r = .116$); this finding suggests that participants who reported worrying about their weight/body size also reported removing hair from more private body areas. At base, bivariate correlations indicated that there were 15 significant relationships (10 for public depilation and 5 for private depilation) between the attitudinal statements and the dependent variables, yet all significant correlations were weak.

Correlations of social rewards/consequences variables and public/private depilation.

Correlations also examined the relationships between the ten independent variables that represent knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards and consequences for hairless/hairy bodies (5 independent variables each) and the two main dependent variables, depilation from public/private body areas. Findings revealed that the variable, “Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?” was significantly correlated with the first dependent variable, depilation from public body

areas ($r = -.166$) (see Table 7 in Appendix F). This negative and weak finding suggests that who reported being less likely to go out socializing without removing their visible body hair also reported removing hair from more public areas. The variables, “Do most of your friends remove their body hair?” ($r = .163$), and “Do you think others notice your body hair when it’s not removed?” ($r = .155$) were significantly correlated with the second dependent variable, depilation from private body areas, and, thus, participants who reported removing hair from more private body areas were also more likely to agree with those statements. Therefore, of the sets of independent variables related to social rewards, one independent variable (“Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?”) was weak and negative, but significantly correlated with public area depilation. Two variables (“Do you think others notice your body hair when it’s not removed?” and “Do most of your friends remove their body hair?”) were significantly correlated with private area depilation.

Correlations revealed that, of the five variables related to social consequences, only one variable was significant. Participants who remove hair from more public body areas were more likely to state that they “have been embarrassed because of their body hair” ($r = .167$). The findings presented in this section are similar to previous t-test findings, in that there were four significant correlations. More specifically, three statements that represent participants’ knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards were significantly correlated with the dependent variable, the extent of depilation from public body areas, and one statement related to social consequences was significantly correlation with depilation from private areas.

Correlations of socialization to hairlessness norms and public/private depilation.

Bivariate correlations tested the associations between the 17 independent variables related to socialization to hairlessness norms and the two main dependent variables. Findings were similar to the t-test results, in that they revealed that there were six independent variables significantly related to the dependent variable, public area depilation. However, there was a discrepancy between the six significant relationships found in these correlations and the six found in t-test analyses. Significant correlations between socialization to hairlessness norms and depilation from public body areas were (from strongest to weakest): female friends ($r = .243$), grandmother ($r = .227$), aunt ($r = .207$), teacher ($r = .191$), Internet ($r = .147$), and mother ($r = .130$) (see Table 8 in Appendix F). All six relationships are weak and positive and suggest that participants who reported learning about hair removal from any of these six individuals also reported removing hair from more public areas. The independent variable, nephew, was significant in t-test analyses, but not in correlations. Similar to t-test analysis, there was no significance between the variables related to socialization to hairlessness norms and the extent of depilation from private body areas.

In summary, the differences between the dichotomized variables and the original variables (those used in t-tests and bivariate correlation respectively) were minimal, based on these results. In addition, according to t-test results, seven (out of 17) attitudinal independent variables were significantly related with the first dependent variable, the number of public areas depilated. On the other hand, bivariate correlations indicated that ten attitudinal variables were significantly related with this dependent

variable (but these correlations were weak). In addition, t-test analyses revealed that five attitudinal variables (out of 17) had a significant relationship with the second dependent variable, the number of private areas depilated. Bivariate correlations also yielded five significant relationships between this second dependent variable and attitudinal variables. Bivariate correlations and t-tests yielded the same results for the variables related to social rewards/consequences in that one variable was significantly related to depilation from public areas and two variables were significantly related to depilation from private areas. There were six significant relationships found between the variables related to socialization to hairlessness norms and public area depilation. Therefore, using the original or unmodified variables yielded more significant results for the dependent variable measuring public area depilation, but did not make a difference when assessing the variation in the second dependent variable, the extent of private area depilation.

In the following section, multivariate analyses are presented and the hypothesized model (see Figure 2) and three main hypotheses ($H_{1.1}$, $H_{1.2}$, and $H_{1.3}$) are examined. The two created count variables, depilation from public and private areas, are the two main dependent variables in multivariate or multiple regression analyses, just as they were in bivariate analyses. Results for these two variables are therefore presented first. However, the additive dependent variable, number of depilatory methods used, is included and presented in Table 4 as well (see Appendix J), simply because results predicting this third dependent variable may be helpful for future researchers.

Multivariate Analyses

In this final section, a series of multivariate or multiple regression analyses were presented to test the hypothesized model or the three main hypotheses in this dissertation. The first hypothesis ($H_{1.1}$) states that (1) women's social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences for hairless/hairy bodies, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of hair removal from public body areas. Second, it was also hypothesized ($H_{1.2}$) that (1) women's social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences for hairless/hairy bodies, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of hair removal from private body areas. The third main hypothesis states ($H_{1.3}$), that (1) women's social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences for hairless/hairy bodies, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the number of depilatory methods participants used. Hypothesis testing using multiple regression analyses has two main purposes in the current analysis. First, this analysis was utilized to determine which independent variables (i.e., those representing social background characteristics, bodily routines, attitudes about beauty/body hair routines, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, or socialization to hairlessness norms

are predictive of the extent of participants' hair removal from public/private body areas and the number of depilatory methods women in this sample report. The second main purpose of multivariate regression analysis was to determine whether the effect of one set of predictors varied when controlling for the other sets of predictors. Prior to the three sets of regression analyses, the independent variables were modified, and all the variables were screened for multicollinearity (i.e. correlations), missing data, and outliers (i.e. Mahalanobis).

Data Reduction and Modification for All Independent Variables

Recalling from earlier in this chapter, the sets of independent variables representing (1) social background characteristics, (2) bodily routines, attitudes towards beauty/body hair; (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences; and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms have been altered through certain data reduction and/or modification techniques. In preparation for multivariate analyses, some of the independent variables were modified again, by dichotomizing and dummy coding, and/or adding together individual variables to create index variables, or reducing sets of variables via factor analysis, which yields a single factor model that can represent a construct. Details of the modification performed are discussed below.

Social background characteristics.

As previously discussed, there were seven social background characteristics (e.g., race, relationship status, political beliefs, employment status, annual individual

income, annual family income, and birth year⁸) utilized in these analysis because these independent variables pertained to the first seven hypotheses (see Chapter 4). These independent variables were previous dichotomized and dummy coded for t-test analyses and did not require any further modifications for regression analyses (see the earlier section on “Data Modifications-Bivariate Analyses”). Yet, to avoid a “situation of extreme multicollinearity,” only one category for each nominal variable is utilized in the regression analyses (Allison, 1999:29). Nevertheless, the groups of independent variables that represent social background characteristics for these analyses are: race (1=white and 0= women of color), employment status (1=working and 0=other statuses), and relationship status (1=dating relationships and 0=other statuses). The remaining variables, political beliefs, income (both individual and family), were left as ordinal levels of measurement (i.e., 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree) for regression analyses. The variable, birth year, asked participants, “What year were you born?” although this variable was an interval level of measurement and needed no modification, it was slightly modified in SPSS by subtracting the current year (e.g., 2009) from the year of birth participants reported. This modification was helpful as it provided the participants’ ages in whole numbers. After modifications, the mean age of participants in this sample was 20 years.

⁸ As previously mentioned, for the original coding of variables see Appendix C, questions 89-101.

Bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair.

The index variables that were modified and utilized in t-tests were also utilized in regression analyses (see “Data Modifications-Bivariate Analyses”). These variables representing an assessment of bodily routines consisted of participants’ answers about the beauty and clothing routines that they incorporated into their daily lives (excluding body hair removal). As mentioned, the variable, beauty routines, is a count variable that was created by adding participants’ responses to five questions (with answer categories of 0=no and 1=yes) (mean= 3.69, st.dev.=1.096). Adding together the affirmative responses from five questions also created a second index variable, clothing routines (response categories were 0=no and 1=yes) as well (mean=3.77, st.dev.=.941). Together, these two count variables are utilized in regression analyses to represent the larger concept of women’s adherence to other bodily routines besides body hair removal. (These variables perhaps bring us the closest to measuring whether women in this sample are actually adhering to beauty norms.)

Four other variables were included to represent participants’ attitudes towards body hair as well. The first variable, negative attitudes towards body hair, was created by adding together the following Likert scale variables (with answer categories of 1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree): “Having body hair is disgusting,” “Having body hair is annoying,” “Having body hair is unnatural,” and “Having body hair is unattractive.” Basic descriptive results indicated that participants in this sample replied more negatively towards body hair (mean=10.18, st.dev=3.696). The following three Likert scale variables were included in the regression analyses, but were not modified. The first independent variable, which represents participants’ appearance-related

attitudes, was “I remove my body hair because it makes me feel feminine” (1=Strongly Disagree to 4=Strongly Agree). Next, the variable, “How important is it that your body be thin?” (with response categories of 1=not important to 7=very important) represents participants’ attitudes surrounding their body size/weight. Participants’ hygiene-related attitudes were represented with the variable, “How important to you is your hygiene?” (answer categories of 1= not important to 7=very important). Each of these questions is included into the regressions because they are a part of the group of independent variables that represent participants’ attitudes towards beauty/body hair.

Knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences.

For the sets of independent variables related to social rewards and social consequences, the data reduction technique factor analysis, was conducted to “describe or determine the underlying structure that explains a set of variables” (Mertler and Vannatta, 2005: 249). In other words, the main purpose of factor analysis is to determine whether selected variables are measuring something in common (i.e., social rewards or social consequences). Usually, the result of a factor solution reduces a larger number of variables into a smaller number of factors. This analysis used principal components analysis as the extraction method to reduce the number of variables into a smaller number of factors. Therefore, “normal assumptions related to the distribution of the variables in the population do not need to be assessed” (Mertler and Vannatta, 2005: 257).

Several factor analyses with Varimax rotation were conducted to confirm the assumption that the two concepts, “social rewards” and “social consequences,” were internally valid constructs. The first concept, social rewards, consisted of eleven

statements measuring participants' attitudes towards perceived social rewards for hairlessness⁹. Of the eleven statements, five observed measures loaded onto one factor while the remaining six measures loaded onto another factor. The five statements loading onto the first factor represent the concept, "social rewards." These five variables were: "Do you think others notice your body hair when you don't remove it?", "Do most of your friends remove their body hair?", "Would you go out socializing without removing your body hair?", "Would you go to work without removing your body hair?", and "Do you think removing your body hair has ever affected your life in a positive way?" Basic descriptive results on this composite variable suggest that students in this sample replied "no" to these statements most of the time (scaled from 0-5) (mean= 1.85, standard deviation=1.512, Cronbach's alpha= .645). In addition, reliability analyses indicated that the variance in these five indicator variables can roughly be explained by one factor, "social rewards," and that these variables can be combined to represent a somewhat reliable index. The alpha value is low (i.e., 65%) and reported with caution but, for purposes of this study, this factor will be retained and utilized as an independent variable in regression analyses. It is important to note that a reliability coefficient of .70 or higher is considered acceptable in most social science research situations (Hays, 1988). The second factor with the remaining six measures indicated a very low alpha score of .347. Thus, the second factor was excluded from further analyses because the reliability of this composite variable was too low and, thus, unacceptable.

⁹ All variables used in factor analyses were the original, or unmodified variables

The second composite variable, “social consequences,” was also comprised of participants’ responses to five statements representing knowledge of and/experience with negative social reaction for hairy bodies. Only five of the eight observed measures loaded onto this factor and, thus, the remaining three variables were not included during these analyses. The five variables representing this index variable: “There is family pressure to remove my body hair,” “Body hair increases body odor,” “I want to avoid teasing/attracting negative attention,” “Body hair is ugly,” and “Body hair is uncomfortable.” However, after initial analyses, the variable, “Body hair is uncomfortable,” was removed from this factor because a slightly higher reliability score was attained with its deletion. Therefore, in the final analyses, only four variables help to measure the concept, “social consequences.” The response categories to these Likert scale statements are the original categories, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). Reliability analyses indicated that 72% of the variance in these four indicator variables can be explained by one factor, that of perceived “social consequences” and, therefore, these four variables can be combined to represent a reliable index. Descriptive results for this index variable indicated a mean of 10.34, standard deviation of 2.90, and Cronbach’s alpha of .716. In the next section, correlations of all the modified and/or reduced independent and dependent variables are presented.

Socialization to hairlessness norms.

The independent variable, “Who taught you body hair removal practices?” was initially recomputed into 17 individual questions with dichotomous response categories (yes/no). Participants’ responses to each of these variables were added and three

separate count variables representing socialization to hairlessness norms were created. These resulting three index variables- “female socialization” (including mother, sister, aunt, grandmother, female friends, niece, female cousins, and self) (mean=2.90, st.dev.=1.311), “male socialization” (including father, brother, uncle, grandfather, and nephew) (mean= .46, st.dev=.748), and “media socialization” (including watching television, reading magazines, and browsing the internet) (mean=.74, st.dev= .814)- illustrate the number and type of socializing agents that were responsible for teaching hair removal practices to the respondents in this sample.

Correlations Between All the Modified Independent and Dependent Variables

As discussed in the previous section, bivariate correlations were utilized to assess the relationship between all independent and dependent variables (with the exception of the social background variables). Findings revealed that there is no threat of multicollinearity among the independent variables, as all the significant correlations were below $r=.6$ (deVaus, 1996). In addition, the two main dependent variables were only moderately correlated with each other ($r=.319$), and the third dependent variable was weakly correlated with the other two dependent variables: private area depilation ($r=.254$) and public area depilation ($r=.183$). Thus, while these measures are similar, they are also different enough to justify using all three indicators in analyses. Multivariate analyses will extract the most important aspects of these relationships.

Prior to regression analyses, the sets of independent variables representing bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms were modified and correlations were conducted using these index variables and the three

dependent variables to determine the order (from strongest to weakest) in which the sets of variables are entered into the regression. Findings revealed that there were five independent variables that were significantly correlated with the dependent variable, the extent of depilation from public body areas. These variables were (from strongest to weakest): the extent of female socialization to hairlessness norms ($r = .255$), negative attitudes towards body hair ($r = .228$), hygiene-related attitudes ($r = -.147$), the extent of media socialization to hairlessness norms ($r = .145$), and the extent of male socialization to hairlessness norms ($r = .134$). There were no significant correlations between any of variables representing social background characteristics or social rewards/consequences and depilation from public body areas. Three significant correlations were found between the independent variables, negative attitudes towards body hair ($r = -.213$), knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards ($r = .168$), and clothing routines ($r = .134$) and depilation from private body areas. There were four independent variables that were significantly correlated with the third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods used. These variables were, all three socialization variables (male socialization, $r = .427$, media socialization, $r = .423$, and female socialization, $r = .390$) and the social background characteristic, individual income ($r = .202$). These significant independent variables (along with the other independent variables) were entered into regression analyses from strongest to weakest.

Data Screening- Missing Data and/or Outliers

Data were then screened for missing data and outliers. A preliminary multiple regression was conducted to calculate Mahalanobis distance to identify outliers and further examine multicollinearity among the eighteen independent variables. Tolerance

statistics for all variables was greater than .1, further confirming that multicollinearity was not an issue (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). The Explore procedure in SPSS (v.17) was then conducted to identify any outliers. There were no participants with a Mahalanobis distance greater than $\chi^2(18)=42.312$ ($p=.001$) and, thus, no outliers were eliminated. Linearity was then analyzed by creating a scatterplot matrix, which displayed elliptical shapes and, thus, indicated linearity and normality. Finally, homoscedasticity was also examined through the generation of residual plots. The residual plot is somewhat scattered, but it was not extreme. Thus, homoscedasticity was assumed (Mertler & Vannatta, 2005). The adjusted R-Square is reported in the following analyses since regression models with many independent variables have a “natural advantage over models with few independent variables in predicting the dependent variable; thus the adjusted R-Square removes the advantage” (Allison, 1999:45).

Predicting the Extent of Public Area Depilation

The first regression assessed the relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable, number of public areas depilated. This regression analysis resulted in four models. Based on the correlation values, the first model included the three variables pertaining to socialization to hairlessness. In the second model, the six variables related to bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair were added in the following order: the negative attitudes index, the variables, “How important is your hygiene?” “I remove my body hair because it makes me feel feminine,” and “How important is it that your body be thin?” and the two bodily routines indices (i.e., beauty and clothing routines). The third model also included the

seven social background characteristics (i.e., race, relationship status, political beliefs, employment status, annual individual income, annual family income, and age).¹⁰

Finally, in the fourth model, the variables pertaining to social rewards and social consequences were added. The results presented in Table 2 (see Appendix J) indicate that four models were estimated incrementally. The changes from the null model to model one (R-Square change=.166), to model two (R-Square change=.064), to model three (R-Square change=.012) and then model four (R-Square change=.000) indicate significant changes in R Square; meaning that the final model is significant in predicting the variation in the dependent variable, number of public/visible body areas depilated. These results are supported by the partial F tests. For the final model, the global F was 1.916 (df=18), and was significant ($p = .024$). The adjusted R Square in the final model indicates that 11.6% of the explained variance in the number of public body locations depilated was accounted for by the predictor variables entered into these analyses. Although most of the variance in the number of public body areas depilated remains unexplained, the two variables that significantly predicted the number of public body areas depilated were: the amount of negative attitudes towards body hair (Beta= .226) and the number of female socializers (Beta=.302). The unstandardized coefficients associated with the predictors in the final model indicate that, as the greater number of

¹⁰ The variables, religion, sexual orientation, employment capacity, and residence, were eliminated from regression analyses as there were no hypotheses related to these variables. Thus, in an effort to achieve a parsimonious solution, only variables that test the 21 hypotheses are included in regression analyses.

negative attitudes towards body hair and as the number of female socializers increases, positive increases in the number of public body areas depilated appear as well ($b=.089$ and $b=.352$ respectively). The standardized coefficients, in the final model, indicate that the number of female socializing agents ($Beta=.302$) is a larger contributor to the extent of depilation from public/visible body sites than the extent of one's negative attitudes about body hair ($Beta=.226$). Therefore, greater female socialization to hairlessness norms significantly predicted the extent of University women's depilation of hair from public body locations, better than any other variables in these models.

Predicting the Extent of Private Depilation

For this set of regression analyses, the relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable, number of private areas depilated, were assessed. This regression analysis also tested the effects of the same independent variables used above, also entered in four incremental models. However, the order in which the variables were entered into this set of the regression analyses was different due to the strength of bivariate correlations with this dependent variable. The first model included the six variables pertaining to bodily routines and attitudes because the variables, negative attitudes and clothing routines, retained the strongest correlation values. Next, the two index variables, social rewards and social consequences were added, as the variable, social rewards, retained the second strongest correlation values. In model three, the six social background characteristics were added, just like in the case of the analysis of public depilation. Finally, the three variables pertaining to socialization to hairlessness norms were added. The results of the final model presented in Table 3 indicate that the extent of participants' hair removal from private

body areas was not significantly influenced by any of the independent variables entered into these analyses (see Appendix J). In other words, the changes from the null model to model one (R-Square change=.059), model two (R-Square change=.009), model three (R-Square change=.038), and model four (R-Square change=.025) were insignificant. This means that the final model did not significantly predict the variation in the number of private/hidden body areas women in this sample depilated. Further, the global F was .906 (df=18), which was not significant ($p = .569$).

Predicting the Number of Depilatory Methods Used

Four incremental models were estimated for the number of depilatory methods that women in this sample used (see Table 4 in Appendix J). Similar to the case of the regressions run on the public depilation variable above, the three variables related to socialization to hairlessness norms were added into the regression analysis first as they retained the strongest correlations values. Next, the six social background characteristics were added to model two since the variable, individual income, retained the second highest correlation values. In model three, bodily routines and attitudes were added, as they retained the third highest correlation. Finally, the two index variables, social rewards and social consequences, were added. The increments from the null model to model one (R-Square change=.411), to model two (R-Square change=.057), to model three (R-Square change=.031), to model four (R-Square change=.016) significantly predict some of the variation in the dependent variable. More specifically, the three variables measuring the extent of socialization to hairlessness norms – female socialization (Beta= .322), male socialization (Beta= .269), and media socialization (Beta=.264) - are the only significant predictors of the number of depilatory methods

used. These results are indicated by the partial F tests as well. For the final model, the global F was 6.382 (df=18), which was significant ($p=.000$).

The adjusted R-Square in the final model indicates that 33.3% of the variance in the number of depilatory methods is explained by socialization variables. The unstandardized coefficients associated with the predictors in the final model indicate that, as the extent of female socialization ($b=.387$), the extent of male socialization ($b=.652$), and the extent of media socialization ($b=.498$) increases, there are positive increases in the number of depilatory methods used. The standardized coefficients in the final model also indicate that the number of female socializing agents (Beta=.322) is a larger contributor to the extent of depilatory methods used than the number of male socializers (Beta=.269) or media socializers (Beta=.264). Other independent variables did not predict the number of depilatory methods used.

At base, regression analyses indicated that the extent of participants' hair removal from public body areas was influenced by increased female socialization to hairlessness norms and increased negativity towards body hair. Therefore, hypothesis 1.1 is partially supported by these results, in that participants who had more female socializers and more negative attitudes towards body hair reported removing hair from more visible body locations (e.g., facial areas, upper body, midsection, and lower body), according to this study's results. Moreover, greater numbers of socializing agents (e.g., female, male, and media) influenced the number of depilatory methods participants reported using (e.g., shaving with regular razor, electric razor, electric clippers, hair removal creams, home waxing, salon waxing, sugaring, threading, tweezing, trimming, laser hair removal, and electrolysis). The variable, female

socialization, had the strongest influence on the number of depilatory methods women in this sample reported; therefore, hypothesis 1.3 was also partially supported. Finally, hypothesis 1.2 was not supported by these analyses; thus women's social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms did not affect the extent of hair removal from private areas. In addition, we must conclude that hypotheses 1.1 and 1.3 were only partially supported because participants' social background characteristics, bodily routines, appearance-related attitudes, hygiene-related attitudes, attitudes towards bodily maintenance, and their experiences with social rewards and social consequences did not play an influential role in determining the extent of participants' depilation from public or private body areas, or the number of depilatory methods they use.

Summary of Chapter Five

The findings of univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses are summarized in this section. Descriptive (univariate) analyses are summarized first. Subsequently, bivariate analyses of the relationships among university women's social background characteristics, bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of or experience with social rewards/consequences, socialization to hairlessness norms, and the extent of depilation from public/private areas are reported. Participants' open-ended comments often support bivariate findings, but also point to avenues for future analyses. Finally, results of the multivariate regression analyses that test the predictive ability of the aforementioned independent variables to explain the variance in three

dependent variables (i.e., the extent of depilation from public body areas, the extent of depilation from private body areas, and the number of depilatory methods reported) are described as well.

Descriptive analyses.

In this section, a comparison of the descriptive characteristics or univariate analyses of both the non-removers and removers is discussed. Because of the difference in sample size among the non-removers (N=12) and removers (N=291) it was difficult to compare their groups for their attitudes or behaviors. However, a brief comparison of their attitudes is discussed tentatively in this section. The non-removers are then eliminated from any further analyses and discussion. Subsequently descriptive characteristics for the dependent and independent variables are summarized.

Summary of the attitudes and behaviors of non-removers and removers.

On average, the twelve female students in this sample who reported that they did not remove their body hair were between 17 and 25 years old, varied in race, were single or dating, self-identified as Catholic, heterosexual, conservative, lived at home with their parents, were employed, had annual individual incomes under \$10, 999, and had annual family incomes of either under \$20, 999 or over \$71, 000. Overall, the characteristics of non-removers varied, suggesting that there was no one type of woman in this sample who represents a “non-remover”. The lack of clear similarities among non-removers is an important finding in and of itself, as it may contradict popular stereotypes of women who do not remove their body hair. Open-ended comments from non-removers were also varied, supporting conclusions made from univariate statistical analyses.

In comparison to the non-removers, the removers reported that they were mostly Caucasian, Black, or Hispanic; however sizeable portions of this sample were Asian American or Arab American. Thus, the racial-ethnic locations of these participants were fairly heterogeneous. Most were heterosexual, and also under the age of 25 years. Religious affiliations revealed that half of the participants in this sample were “conservative” and over a quarter were “liberal” in their political views. Their marital status was primarily “single” or “dating,” which makes sense considering participants’ ages. Many students reported that they were unemployed. Some indicated that they were employed full-time or part-time, but individual earnings were typically less than \$10,999 a year. Perhaps related to these low individual incomes, many students in this study reported living at home with their parents. Participants reported a wide variety of family incomes. Despite the small number of non-removers, there did seem to be a few similarities between the non-removers and removers in terms of social background characteristics, suggesting some uniformity across of the entire sample (N=303).

Demographic comparison of removers and non-removers.

There were only a few attitudinal statements that could be compared among the non-removers and removers. Specifically, three quarters of the non-removers and slightly of half of the removers agreed that body hair was embarrassing, annoying, unnatural, and unattractive. Additionally, both the non-removers and removers agreed that body hair was protective. A difference between the two groups of participants was that slightly over half of the non-removers disagreed that body hair was disgusting while slightly over half of the removers agreed that body hair was disgusting. This attitudinal difference may suggest the reason why non-removers do not remove their body hair.

Nonetheless, differences among removers and non-removers were unclear at best, because of the vast discrepancy in sample size in this study. Further comparisons of removers and non-removers are necessary to seek out their real differences and similarities.

Summary of additional independent variables.

For this study, the independent variables were related to bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms. Descriptive results indicated that, on average, female students in this study reported incorporating three other bodily routines into their daily lives (besides body hair removal). These bodily routines typically included: visiting a professional hairstylist in the past year, engaging in regular skin care activities, wearing makeup, and/or receiving manicures/pedicures. Slightly over half the participants also reported dieting in the last year. Participants' open-ended comments indicate that some adhere to bodily routines, such as professionally styling their hair, for individual, appearance-related reasons. Some participants in this sample also incorporated beauty routines, such as wearing makeup, into their daily lives, because they wanted to improve their physical appearance, increase their self-confidence, or hide skin imperfections. Overall, open-ended comments about the reasons for bodily routines reveal that most women in this sample stated that they want to make themselves look and/or feel better. Whether adherence to these routines is strictly a result of their adherence to beauty norms, however, is somewhat unclear. In some open-ended comments, intimate participants' desires to look feminine, pretty, attractive, sexy, or other unrelated comments also are common.

Basic descriptive results also indicated that the participants, on average, wear three articles of revealing clothing on a regular basis, such as: sleeveless blouses/shirts, shorts, bathing suits, and open-toed shoes. Slightly over half of the participants also reported that they do not wear skirts as often as the other clothing routines, but reasons for this are unclear. Slightly over half of the removers reported negative attitudes towards body hair, such as body hair is disgusting, unattractive, and/or annoying; but less than half agreed that body hair serves a protective purpose. Nearly two-thirds reported that they look cleaner without body hair, and the vast majority reported that their hygiene, and appearing clean, was important to them. Also, a small majority of the participants reported that they removed their body hair to avoid looking masculine and because removing it made them feel feminine, sexy, and more attractive. Half of this sample's participants reported believing that being hair-free changed how others perceived them, as well as changing their attitudes towards how they perceived others, with or without body hair. Further, less than one-third indicated that they started removing their body hair because they had received negative feedback from others and/or their family members influenced them to remove their body hair. Additionally, the majority of students reported that they learned to remove body hair from their mothers, and that they had not stopped removing body hair since they started. However, half of the removers reported that they liked the experience of removing their body hair (but, it is difficult to decipher what this really means without talking with individual women in person).

Participants' open-ended comments further support these findings, in that some women in this sample had negative attitudes towards body hair, but others expressed

more neutrality. In addition, some participants stated that the reasons why they hide their hair removal practices are related to privacy and/or that they want to appear “natural” or “flawless”; and, others expressed that body hair removal is just something that one of supposed to do, a regular routine. Some participants indicated that whether they hide this practice or not largely depends on where the body part in question is located (e.g., public versus private body areas). Thus, participants’ open-ended comments were similar to bivariate statistical findings, and women’s attitudes towards body hair and body hair removal are complex and vary considerably.

In addition, the participants were asked about their knowledge of or experience with social rewards/consequences for hairlessness/hairy bodies. A slight majority reported believing that hair-free women are more likely to get asked out on dates or get hired for jobs. Therefore, they were knowledgeable of and/or had experiences with positive social reactions for hairless bodies in both their personal lives and in their employment. However, these results further indicate that only slightly over half of this sample’s participants had officially felt the social rewards of hairlessness. Moreover, the students in this sample also reported that they were knowledgeable of the social consequences or the negative social reactions they could experience for violating hairlessness norms. A little over half of the students reported that body hair removal was a private behavior done in order to avoid any potential social consequences. Slightly more than one-third of the participants reported removing their body hair to avoid any teasing or negative attention, and a little over half reported that they had experienced pressures from their partner/significant others, male friends, female friends, and/or families to remove their body hair. With these results, participants seem to

report knowledge of possible rewards and consequences even if they did not report having personal experiences with them.

Summary of dependent variables: areas of depilation.

Female students reported depilating different body areas and in this analysis most reported removing the hair from certain facial areas (e.g., eyebrows, upper lip, and chin), upper body areas (e.g., underarms and arms), and lower body areas (e.g., legs and bikini line). Hair removal from the mid section was not a commonly reported area among survey respondents. Additionally, the students in this study reported using many different methods to remove their body hair, but most reported that their preferred depilatory methods were razors (shaving), and/or tweezers (plucking).

Descriptive results for the additive dependent variables, extent of depilation from public/private body areas, revealed that participants removed hair from a minimum of one and a maximum of 10 public body areas (from a total of 13 public body areas) and, on average, they remove from five public/visible body areas. On the other hand, participants reported removing hair from zero to nine private/hidden body areas (from a total of 12 private body areas). On average, participants reported removing hair from two private body areas. Thus, participants in this sample reported removing hair from more public/visible body areas than private/hidden areas, and hypothesis 17 is supported as a result of these analyses. Additionally, participants reported an average number of three depilatory methods. In the next section, a summary of bivariate analyses is presented.

Bivariate findings.

T-test and chi-square analyses were conducted to examine which social background characteristics influenced the number of public/visible body areas depilated, and the number of private/hidden body areas depilated. In most cases, participants' social background characteristics did not have a significant effect on the mean number of body areas depilated (even though significant relationships and mean differences were sometimes found at random). Next, t-test analyses were conducted to examine the extent to which other bodily routines (besides hair removal) and attitudes towards beauty/body hair were related to the number of public or private areas women in this sample depilated. Findings revealed that participants who affirmatively responded with the following statements, "Do you diet?" "I hide my hair removal practices," "Having body hair is disgusting," "Having body hair is annoying," "Having body hair is unnatural," and "In general, how do you feel about removing your body hair?" also reported a higher mean number of public body areas depilated than those who did not report these attitudes and behaviors. Participants who reported agreeing with the statements, "I remove my body hair to avoid looking masculine," "I worry about my weight/body size," and "Having body hair is unattractive" also reported depilating more private body locations than participants who disagreed with these statements. Yet, participants who disagreed with the statements, "Having body hair is disgusting," and "Having body hair is annoying," also reported depilating more hair from private areas than participants who agreed with these statements. Perhaps, women associate their feelings of "disgust" or "annoyance" with hair removal from public body areas and not private body areas. In

addition, women in this study who reported agreeing that “Having body hair is unclean,” also reported depilating hair from more public areas than their counterparts.

Bivariate analyses were also conducted to explore the effects of university women’s knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards and consequences on the extent of depilation from public and private body areas. Three significant t-tests were found in relation to the five statements representing social rewards and public depilation. Participants who answered “no” to the statement, “Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?” reported removing hair from more public areas than participants who reported affirmatively. Yet, participants who reported having some knowledge of their friends’ hair removal behavior reported removing hair from more private body areas than women without this knowledge. In addition, participants who believed that others noticed their hairless/hairy bodies reported removing hair from more private body areas than participants who did not believe that others noticed their body hair. Therefore, one significant t-test indicated that participants in this sample who reported some knowledge of and experience with social rewards also reported removing hair from more public areas and two significant tests indicated that participants who reported some knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards also reported removing hair from more private areas. Findings further revealed that participants who reported agreeing with the statement, “Have you ever been that they had been embarrassed because of your body hair?”, also reported removing hair from more public body areas than participants who had not been embarrassed. Thus, results should be explored further because significance was not found for each statement for depilation of both public and private body areas.

In their open-ended comments, participants in this sample expressed knowledge of and experiences with social rewards for hairlessness in their personal/social lives more than their professional lives (but some did point out the benefits of hairlessness during paid work too). In addition, similar to t-tests, open-ended comments indicate that most participants who had been embarrassed because of their body hair also remembered that the body part and/or where it was located was a public/visible body area (e.g., chin, eyebrows, or arms, etc.). But, one participant did recall that she experienced embarrassment because of hair that was located in private/hidden body area (e.g., lower back). Participants did not discuss the areas of the body from which they removed hair, when discussing social rewards and consequences, however. There is room for future qualitative and quantitative research on this topic.

Significant t-test findings revealed that there were six significant relationships between women's socialization to hairlessness norms and current depilation practices. Specifically, participants who indicated that they were socialized to hairlessness norms by an aunt, grandmother, teacher, female friends, nephew, or the Internet, reported removing hair from more public body areas than their counterparts. Findings further revealed that there were no significant relationships between any of the 17 socializing agents and depilation from private body areas. Similar to the conclusions we can make about t-test results, all of the open-ended comments illustrate that participants in this sample were socialized to hairlessness norms and that this socialization still affects their removal of body hair from public body areas. Some of the participants associated this practice with gendered norms, in that women should remove body hair because it makes them look more "attractive," "feminine" and "sexy," (these findings were also

illustrated in the univariate results). Others associated this practice with pain or defined it as a regular routine, thus defining it somewhat more negatively. Some participants recalled the specific body areas from which they were taught either to remove or not remove hair, and others remembered being taught about hair removal techniques and which depilatory methods to use. Therefore, based on both the bivariate statistical results and open-ended findings, participants' socialization to hairlessness norms seems to affect their depilation from public body areas only. Much more in-depth research is needed to begin explaining the variance in the extent of private body area depilation. In the next section, a summary of the multivariate or multiple regression findings is presented.

Multivariate findings.

Three sets of multivariate regression analyses were presented to test the hypothesized model or the main hypothesis in this study ($H_{1.1}$) that (1) social background characteristics, (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of body hair removal from public body areas. Second, it was also hypothesized that these variables will affect the extent of body hair removal from private body areas ($H_{1.2}$) (see Figure 2). Next, a summary of the findings on a third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods used, are discussed. Even though there are concerns about whether this third dependent variable is actually measuring what it is supposed to measure (i.e., that it may not be measuring the number of depilatory methods, and rather, may be measuring the number of body areas depilated (for the number of methods should correspond to the kinds of areas

depilated)), it was hypothesized ($H_{1.3}$) that (1) social background characteristics, (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the number of depilatory methods women use.

In the first set of multivariate regressions, findings indicated that the final model was significant in predicting the variation in the number of public/visible areas depilated. More specifically, the final model revealed that more negative attitudes towards body hair and greater amounts of female socialization to hairlessness norms significantly predicted the extent of depilation from public/visible body areas. The variable, female socialization to hairlessness norms, had a larger effect on the first dependent variable than negative attitudes towards body hair. In the second set of regression analyses, findings confirmed that the final model was not significant in predicting the dependent variable, extent of private body areas depilated; indeed, none of the predictors in these regression analyses had a significant effect on the second dependent variable. Lastly, having greater numbers of female socializers, male socializers, and exposure to media socializers significantly influenced the number of depilatory methods participants used, with the amount of female socialization having the strongest influence on this third variable.

Overall, the results of multivariate regression analyses indicate that, of all the independent variables regressed on the dependent variables, female socialization to hairlessness norms is the largest predictor of the extent of depilation from public body areas and the number of depilatory methods used. The female socialization variable was not significant in predicting variation in the extent of depilation from private body

areas, however. In addition, regression results indicated that a greater number of negative attitudes towards body hair significantly influenced the extent of participants' depilation from public body areas. University women's social background characteristics, bodily routines, other attitudes related to beauty/body hair, and knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences did not influence the extent of participants' depilation from public or private body areas or the numbers of depilatory methods participants reported using. Based on the meager significance found in these regression analyses, a new model is proposed in Figure 3 (see Figure 3). This new model should be tested and honed in future studies.

Summary of participants' open-ended comments.

The participants were asked to comment on sixteen open-ended questions. More specifically, these questions were related to race (two questions), bodily routines (three questions), attitudes towards body hair (two questions), knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards (three questions) and social consequences (one question), and socialization to hairlessness norms (four questions). Additionally, one question asked participants to comment on their favorite hair removal method. These comments are explained below.

Comments about race and body hair attitudes.

Participants were asked to comment on two questions which were, "Do you think women of different racial/ethnic groups have the same attitudes and practices of body hair removal?" and "Do you think women of your same racial/ethnic group are more hairy than women of different racial/ethnic groups?" (eight and 21 comments respectively). As for the first question, their comments suggest that body hair removal

is not depended on one's racial/ethnic background, and that all women remove their body hair. Common patterns found in their comments reveal that women of different racial/ethnic groups remove hair from different bodily areas and utilize different hair removal methods or techniques. One participant believes that women of different racial/ethnic groups use various hair removal methods to attract men. Further illustrating the notion that women of all racial/ethnic groups may be aware of the social rewards they could receive for the way they look (such as attracting a man or starting a new relationship). Other comments from the participants indicate that some associate beauty/becoming beautiful with body hair removal and, further, some believe that beauty can be achieved via body hair removal. Thus, participants' attitudes towards women of different racial/ethnic groups varied, but most of their comments suggest that women of different racial/ethnic groups remove their body hair as an attempt to adhere to beauty norms. Yet, there were four comments about Black or African American women and body/hair removal. These comments reveal that participants' perceptions of Black or African American women were that they were less concerned with their appearance, seem to have more self-confidence, and that they were not trying to conform to beauty standards. These comments are limited, but they parallel findings from a smaller pilot study (Rigakos, 2004), discussed in Chapter One.

The second question asked participants whether they thought women of their same racial/ethnic group had more body hair than women of different racial/ethnic groups. Their comments suggest that women of their same racial/ethnic group have more hair than others, and that their body hair is darker than others. These comments may reflect that a sizeable portion of this sample inferred unhappiness or dissatisfaction

with their appearances. Some women acknowledge that they notice others' visible body hair, and could also be aware of the negative social reactions that accompany hairy bodies. This evidence (however weak) should be explored further as it suggests that there may be links between women's racial locations and body hair attitudes.

Comments related to bodily routines.

Three questions asked participants whether or not they engage in bodily routines, such as getting their hair professionally styled (47 comments), wearing makeup (27 comments), and what is their favorite outfit (77 comments). Participants believed that they could not style their own hair, and therefore, felt that they required the help of a professional. Some also believed that they gained emotional benefits, feeling "better" when they engaged in these routines. Others expressed feeling more "feminine" or "womanly," or had very specific reasons for going to a professional stylist (e.g., being disabled). Therefore, these participants indicated that getting their hair professionally-styled was for individual, appearance-related reasons. On the other hand, comments from removers who do not incorporate this beauty routine were very different, such as economic reasons for not incorporating this routine. Others dealt with assessments of professional stylists' abilities to deal with their hair, and two comments highlighted women's desires to maintain personal space and not let others touch them. One additional remover stated that she gets her hair styled for others, but "only on special occasions and only for good-looking decent men." This type of comment reinforces the idea that women might engage in certain bodily routines because they know their efforts will be noticed, and how others react to their appearance in certain situations may garner social rewards for grooming their hair.

Participants' open-ended comments that the application of makeup makes them look "prettier" or "sexy" infers that they adhere to beauty norms when engaging in this bodily routine. Other comments about wearing makeup, such as "It's part of my life" and "It's part of my routine," highlight how "normal" this bodily routine is for some participants. Finally, one remover stated, "I get more attention when I look good and wearing makeup helps me achieve that" illustrating knowledge of and experience with social rewards for this bodily routine.

Seventy-seven participants answered the open-ended question, "What is an example of your favorite type of clothing?" Most participants said they like wearing "jeans" (48 comments). However, nine liked wearing "shorts or Capri's," one said she liked wearing "short jersey dresses," and another liked wearing "skirts." Five comments focused on open-toed shoes, such as "flip flops" and the remaining 18 participants stated they liked wearing "t-shirts." Thus, overall, participants in this sample report wearing at least some types of clothing that reveal significant amounts of their physical body (and, therefore, body hair) over the past year. As illustrated, participants provided many comments about the beauty routines they incorporate into their everyday lives. Further, this implies that these routines may be considered "normal" or important for some women, but these findings would need to be confirmed by future studies.

Comments related to attitudes towards body hair.

Twelve women (other than the 12 non-removers) provided comments as to when and why they stopped removing their body hair (for any period of time) since starting this practice. Half of their comments (five) were weather-related and the other half were related to their relationship status at that time (e.g., they indicated that they were single

and no one would see their bodies, so they stopped removing their body hair during this time). Therefore, for some women whether or not they remove body hair from specific parts of the body (public and/or private) depends on who will see their hairless/hairy bodies. Though the remaining comments varied, participants seemed to give personal reasons as to why they chose to stop removing their body hair, for a period of time, since starting this behavior.

Participants used words, such as “disgusting,” “gross,” and “unnatural” to describe that their attitudes towards body hair were negative, and thus, the reason why they hide their body hair removal from others. Others indicated that they hide this behavior because body hair removal is a way in which they attempt to achieve beauty. Three participants were taught/told that women should not have visible body hair, and its removal should be hidden from others. These comments further illustrate that women are socialized to hairlessness norms. One participant stated that body hair is a flaw and that she does not want to show these flaws to others, and thus, reinforcing the notion that women discipline their bodies and adhere to hairlessness norms. Additionally, it points to the fact that some participants may be cognizant of the perceived negative social reactions they could receive for bodily imperfections, such as hairy bodies. Finally, others replied that they choose to remove their body hair when they are in the shower, or otherwise exposed, and thus, to them, this behavior is hidden from others because of where it takes place (i.e., bathroom).

Further, participants who expressed that they do not hide their hair removal from others stated that this was because “Everyone does it.” This may offer some explanation to the lack of findings in this study, meaning that participants believe that

body hair removal as a common, mundane, and trivial behavior, and generally, the study of hairlessness norms receive little research attention because this “practice of removing unwanted body hair is so normative in Western cultures as to go unremarked” (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008: 889). Other comments indicate that whether or not they hide this practice from others largely depends on the public/private location of the body part. These open-ended results highlighted participants’ attitudes towards body hair and/or hair removal, and while it is apparent that some individual participants do or do not adhere to specific beauty norms and specific attitudes towards body hair and its removal, there is no pattern between what participants think and the extent of their depilation from public/private areas.

Comments related to experiences with social rewards/consequences.

Participants’ commented on three questions related to their knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards for hairlessness. These questions asked them to give an example of whether removing body hair has affected their life in a positive way (six comments), their intimate relationships in a positive way (18 comments), and whether they have benefited because of their physical appearance (17 comments). Comments suggest that participants had experience with social rewards in both their personal/social lives and professional lives. For instance, some participants stated that they experience social rewards by “getting into clubs for free” and “getting free drinks.” Additionally, comments indicate that participants remove their body hair because their partners/boyfriends like hair-free bodies. Two participants indicated that they have better sexual experiences when their bodies are hair-free. Another participant said her relationship was positively affected because her partner noticed her. These comments

suggest that some women may attempt to look a certain way, such as being hair-free because they experience in both their social lives and/or intimate relationships. Other participants gave examples of how they think they have benefited because of their physical appearances. Three participants stated that they benefited in their professional lives: “Better jobs,” “Better shifts,” and “The better I look, the easier school and work is” (thus reinforcing that women are also aware of the social rewards they receive in professional settings as well). Based on these open-ended comments, participants indicate that they experience social rewards in their social lives, intimate relationships, professional lives, as well as benefiting for their appearance. Yet, collectively, these comments also provide some evidence that participants are knowledgeable of and/or have experience social rewards for hairless bodies, and further, suggest that women do indeed remove body hair (both public and private) in order to adhere to social norms and receive social rewards.

There was one question related to participants’ knowledge/experience with social consequences. Eighteen participants give examples of whether they had been embarrassed because of their body hair. These comments reveal that participants recalled being embarrassed when their body hair was visible to others, but there were two participants who remembered being embarrassed because of body hair in private areas. These comments indicate that participants do seem knowledgeable of and/or had experience with negative consequences for hairy bodies, and further, report removing hair from more public body areas as a result.

Comments related to socialization to hairlessness norms.

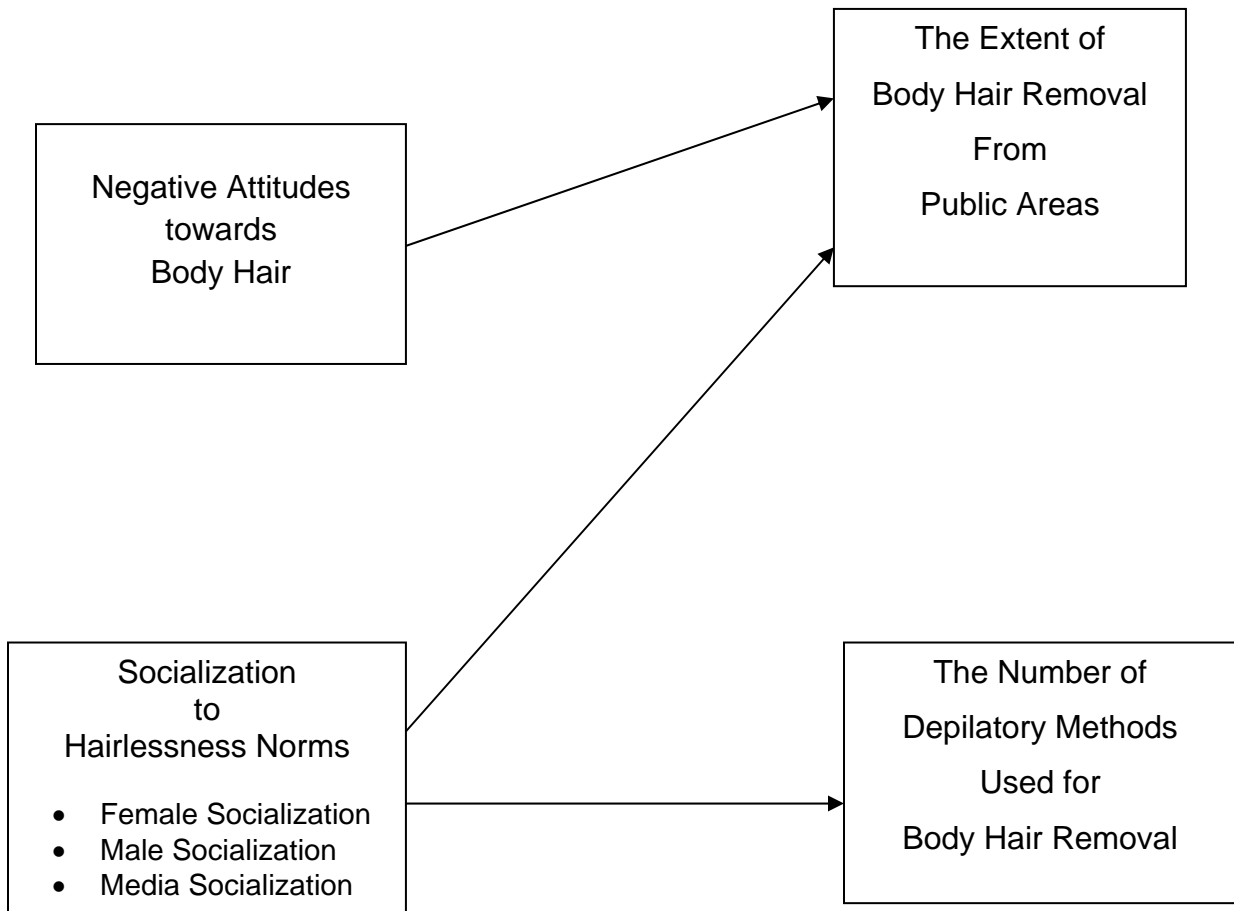
There were four open-ended questions related to socialization and hairlessness norms. These questions focused on their “earliest memory” (40 comments), what they were taught about body hair removal (38 comments), and who they spoke to about their body hair/body hair removal (17 comments and 18 comments respectively). Their comments illustrate that body hair removal is a common and accepted practice for many, demonstrating the existence of a hairlessness norm. More specifically, though, in most cases, the participants also recalled the first body part from which they depilated and, for many, this was a public/visible body area. Thus, some of the participants associated this practice with gendered norms, in that women should remove body hair because it makes them look more “attractive,” “feminine” and “sexy.” Others associated this practice with pain or defined it as a regular routine, defining it somewhat more negatively. Some participants recalled the specific body areas from which they were taught either to remove or not remove body hair, and others remembered being taught about hair removal techniques and which depilatory methods to use. Additionally, participants remembered speaking to the following people about their body hair/body hair removal: “I’ve asked my cousins and coworkers about what methods they have tried,” and “At work we talk about our preferred practices.” Others preferred speaking with their “cousins,” “friends,” “mom,” “partner,” and “sister,” about body hair/hair removal issues. These comments illustrate that the participants in this sample were socialized to hairlessness norms and that this socialization still affects their removal of body hair from public body areas.

Comments related to the types of depilatory methods used.

The open-ended question asking participants to name their favorite hair removal product yielded 37 comments. Some participants liked using a razor/shaving because, “It is quick and easy,” “cheap and fast,” “It doesn’t hurt,” and “I can do it myself.” Others indicated that they preferred tweezers because, “I find it relaxing even though plucking takes forever,” and that “It is the most effective [method] for me.” Four participants preferred clippers for reasons, such as “It is easier than shaving,” and “They work on the really hairy parts of my body.” One participant said she liked using her “husband’s clippers - men’s stuff always works better.” Lastly, eight women preferred using wax to remove their body hair because, “Hair does not grow back as fast,” “It’s quick, but painful,” and “It lasts long, without the itchiness.” Therefore, participants’ methods varied, but many indicated that their choice of depilatory methods is a result of practicalities or a conscious evaluation of time and money. Overall, open-ended comments parallel quantitative results but, unlike these results, qualitative findings were able to provide an explanation or clarification about participants’ attitudes and behaviors towards body hair and hair removal. In other words, qualitative results were able to highlight participants’ perceptions about women of different/same racial/ethnic groups and depilation behaviors while bivariate results were inconclusive. Open-ended reports were able to focus on whether and why participants incorporate certain bodily routines into their lives, and quantitative techniques were unsuccessful in producing any significant tests related to bodily routines. There were significant tests between the sets of variables related to participants’ attitudes towards body hair, knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences, socialization to hairlessness norms, and

public/private depilation, however; qualitative accounts were able to further delve into the motivations surrounding body hair/hair removal attitudes and the extent of depilation from public (mostly) and private body areas.

Figure 3: Tentative Model to be tested in Future Studies



CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study tried to further our understanding of whether and how women respond to hairlessness norms. The more specific research goal was to determine whether social contexts, such as social background characteristics (e.g., race, age, income, political beliefs, employment status, and relationship status), bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms influence the extent of women's body hair removal from public/private body areas. In the methodology chapter (Chapter Four), twenty-one hypotheses were formulated in an attempt to achieve the aims of this study. Next, the results chapter (Chapter Five) presented univariate, bivariate, and multivariate statistical analyses so that the relationships between the independent and dependent variables in this study could be explored. The results for each hypothesis are reviewed in this section.

The findings discussed in Chapter Five focused first on the characteristics of 303 participants. Twelve participants reported that they did not remove their body hair ("non-removers") and 291 reported that they removed their body hair ("removers"). The characteristics of non-removers varied, suggesting that there was no one type of woman in this sample who represented a "non-remover." Non-removing participants reported no common reasons for non-removal (at least based on the survey questions asked- future research should examine non-removal more fully). Because there were so few non-removers in this sample, it is difficult to make any definitive conclusions

about this particular group. Thus, future researchers of this topic should make a greater effort to recruit non-removers for their studies, and examine in more depth the reasons why women might not remove body hair. Nevertheless, the fact that only 12 women (out of a sample of 303 respondents) did not remove their body hair was an important finding because it highlighted the fact that most women in this sample did conform and were committed to hairlessness norms. In addition, the majority of removers indicated that they have never stopped removing their body hair since starting this practice, further suggesting adherence to hairlessness norms. Open-ended comments further detailed these results.

Bivariate findings were organized according to the four sets of independent variables examined in this study: social background characteristics, adherence to bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair norms, knowledge of or experience with social rewards/consequences, and socialization to hairlessness norms. When relevant, open-ended comments about the bivariate relationships in question are presented. Finally, multivariate findings are discussed so that conclusions can be made about the amount of variance explained in three dependent variables, and the extent of effect that any independent variable had on the dependent variables. Bivariate and multivariate findings are summarized briefly below.

Bivariate Findings

Social background characteristics.

The first six hypotheses ($H_2 - H_7$) tested the relationship between social background characteristics and the extent of depilation from public/private areas. Examinations of these hypotheses revealed that two of the six hypotheses (H_3 and H_5)

were partially supported by these analyses. More specifically, t-tests revealed that the background characteristics, family income, individual income, and age, were significantly related to the extent of women's depilation from public or private body areas. First, this study's findings revealed that more female university students 25 years of age or younger reported removing hair from more private body areas than their older counterparts. Therefore, hypothesis 3 was supported in part, but this result should be examined further in future studies because it is still unknown whether younger women remove hair from more body areas in general. Nonetheless, this finding about increased depilation from private body areas may be related to the fact that younger women are primary targets of the media (Hope, 1982; Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008). Recent issues of *Harper's Bazaar*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Seventeen* fashion magazines geared towards younger women, for example, have included articles on pubic hair removal (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008); thus younger women's interest in pubic hair may be greater than older women's interest in this behavior. This finding and corresponding literature both suggest that a women's age, or position in a certain birth cohort, may be a factor in whether she conforms to hairlessness norms in particular ways. This finding should be explored further in future research, especially to seek out whether age or birth cohort has a greater influence on removal of body hair from private body areas than on removal from public areas. The results of this study suggest that age does not have as much of an effect on women's removal of public body hair.

Findings also revealed that income significantly influenced the extent of depilation from both public and private body areas. Participants who reported earning individual incomes of \$10,999 a year or below also reported removing hair from more

private body areas than their counterparts. Further, female students with family incomes of \$41,000 or higher, reported depilating from more public body areas than those with lower incomes. In other words, female students with more family financial support removed body hair from more visible body sites, and this finding supports hypothesis 5 in part. However, the fact that students with individual incomes of \$10,999 or lower removed hair from more private body sites is unexplained by existing literature and does not support any pre-existing hypothesis in this study. Students with lower individual incomes might have greater family incomes (thus, finding their own personal paid work unnecessary); yet we do not find that students with greater family incomes remove hair from more private areas of the body. Thus, findings on the relationships between income and the removal of body hair from private areas are yet to be explained, and should be explored further. A possible explanation for the relationship between family income and removal of body hair from public areas is that students with more financial support may have been socialized to look a certain way when in public settings and, thus, the students in this study reported removing hair from more public/visible areas. On the other hand, they may just have more disposable income to try more methods. At base, income (both individual and family) seems to influence the extent of depilation from public and private body areas, but results are only partially explained and could be considered random at this point. At best, there is very weak support for hypotheses 3 and 5 based on bivariate analyses.

The remaining social background hypotheses (H_2 , H_4 , H_6 , and H_7) were not supported by these analyses. More specifically, the background characteristics of race, political beliefs, employment status, and relationship status did not influence depilation

behavior. White students and students of other racial/ethnic groups did not report statistically significant differences in their behaviors and attitudes surrounding hair removal from public and private body areas, with the exception of random significance (that must be attributed to chance) in a few chi-square and t-test results. This means that hypothesis 2 was not supported and that race cannot be said to influence depilation behavior in this particular study. However, the fact that most analyses for this dissertation were completed on a dichotomized race variable should be noted. Future analyses based on this project will utilize the broader, original race variable, to see if any differences can be found among groups of color. Additionally, an examination of participants' open-ended comments reveal that there were links between women's racial locations and body hair/hair removal attitudes; future research should examine these links more fully, perhaps using qualitative methodology. Nevertheless, the choice to dichotomize this variable may have been a faulty one, although significant race results were found in a smaller pilot study by the same researcher (Rigakos, 2004).

Student's political beliefs or their employment status also did not influence the extent of hair removal (except for a few randomly significant results, from which we cannot conclude anything specific). Hypotheses 4 and 6 were not supported by the data as a result. Lastly, it was assumed that single women would be more likely than women in dating relationships to self-objectify or think of themselves as an object first and a subject second (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), because of their wishes for a future relationship. Thus, in hypothesis 7, it was projected that, "Women who are single or without a significant other/partner are more likely to remove hair from more public/private body areas than women who are in intimate relationships." However,

single women and women in dating relationships reported similar depilation behavior from private and public body areas. Hypothesis 7 was not supported in this study.

On the whole, bivariate findings on the effects of social background characteristics indicated that there were a few significant relationships between income and age and the extent of women's depilation from public/private body areas. However, in multivariate analysis age and income variables did not significantly influence either of these dependent variables, as described in the next section. Thus, based on the combination of bivariate and multivariate results presented in this dissertation, there is little support for hypotheses 3 and 5 overall. In general, hypotheses about the effects of social background characteristics are not supported in this study.

Bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair.

Nine hypotheses guided the analyses of the relationships between women's bodily routines, attitudes towards beauty/body hair, and the extent of public/private areas depilation (i.e., $H_8 - H_{14}$, H_{20} , and H_{21}). In total, 45 t-tests were carried out to evaluate whether women's adherence to certain bodily routines (other than body hair removal) and adherence to certain attitudes about beauty or body hair might affect the extent of their removal; only 14 t-tests were significant. This means that only four of the nine hypotheses (H_9 , H_{11} , H_{14} , and H_{21}) were supported, and these hypotheses were only supported in part. Findings tentatively suggest that participants who agreed with the statement, "Having body hair is unattractive," reported depilating hair from more private body sites than those participants who disagreed; the same finding, however, was not found in analyses of women's removal from public body areas. Thus, hypothesis 9 is only supported by the link between one attitudinal variable and the

extent of private area depilation. Findings also indicated that participants in this study who agreed with the statements, "Having body hair is unnatural," "disgusting," and "annoying" reported removing hair from more public body areas, but not private body areas; this means that hypotheses 10 and 11 is supported only in part by these findings as well. A possible explanation for the weak support for hypotheses 9, 10 and 11 may be that different social meanings are attached to body hair (and women with the body hair) depending on the bodily location in question. Hair located in public/visible body areas (i.e., leg hair and upper lip hair), for instance, may be perceived as masculine or unfeminine, (which might make it "unnatural"); thus, by removing hair from more public/visible body areas "women can act to bring their body closer to the ["natural"] ideal" (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008: 889). On the other hand, hair located in private/hidden body areas (i.e., stomach and entire pubic area) may not determine masculinity/lack of femininity as much as hair in public body areas, and may be removed more for aesthetic reasons as a result. The removal of hair from private/hidden body areas is not as normative as its counterpart, but as popularity towards this type of removal increases, women may begin to perceive the removal of hair from all body areas to be a "source of beauty- at least if carefully shaped, as the eyebrows often are" (Toerien, et. al., 2005: 403). These explanations are very tentative, however, and all they illustrate is that there may be important differences between the reasons that women remove hair from public body areas and the reasons that women remove from private body areas. Much future research is needed to determine why so little significance was found between attitudinal and behavioral variables in this study, because no subsequent multivariate analysis showed any significance for the effects of

attitudinal variables on women's depilatory behavior either. Based on the multivariate results alone, then, we cannot claim support for hypotheses 9 or 11 in this study.

This study also found possible links between weight-related attitudes and behaviors, and the amount of depilation from public/private sites (hypothesis 14), thus suggesting that future research should examine weight-related attitudes as well. Specifically, participants who reported worrying about their weight/body size reported depilating more private body areas than participants who did not worry. Also, findings revealed that participants who reported dieting removed hair from more public body areas than those who reported not dieting in this sample. This means that, in this sample, women's concerns about weight were linked to hair removal from private body areas, but reports of actual weight loss activities (dieting) were linked to hair removal from public body areas. Whether there is a difference between the effects of worrying versus involvement in actual behavior, however, cannot be determined in this study. In addition, multivariate analyses do not show that weight-related attitudes or behaviors have any significant effect on public or private area depilation, once other independent variables are controlled. This means that this study does not offer full support for hypothesis 14. Future research should focus on the possible links between weight-related attitudes and behaviors, and the extent of women's depilation behavior, to evaluate more closely the possible differences in reasons for women's hair removal from public and private body areas. The support for hypothesis 21 is weak because there was only one finding related to hygiene-attitudes and the extent of participants' depilation from public areas; thus, results are inconclusive as this is the only finding.

The remaining hypotheses (H_8 and H_{12}) were not supported at all in bivariate or multivariate analyses of the extent of women's depilatory behavior. Participants who reported negative attitudes towards body hair, such as body hair is "disgusting" and/or "annoying," removed hair from more public body areas. Yet findings indicated that participants who agreed with the statements, "I remove my body hair to avoid looking masculine" and "Having body hair is unattractive," reported removing hair from more private body areas than participants who disagreed with these statements. At base, hypothesis 8 is not supported and, as mentioned above, hypothesis 9 is only supported in part (if at all). Preliminary findings indicated that participants' feelings towards body hair removal were "necessary" and many reported removing hair from more public body areas. However, participants who reported positive attitudes towards body hair still reported removing the hair from more private body areas. Findings in support of hypothesis 10 are contradictory. Some results about the attitudinal variables begin to suggest that women might judge themselves against beauty standards, yet this suggestion cannot be confirmed by these results. Furthermore, as will be clear from multivariate analyses, women's other beauty and clothing routines did not significantly affect the extent of women's hair removal behavior. Thus, hypothesis 12 is not supported either. Based on the bivariate analysis of women's attitudes and other bodily routines (besides hair removal), the reasons for removal from public or private areas are unclear and left mostly unexplained. Multivariate analyses return the same inconclusive findings. Based on both bivariate and multivariate results, we must conclude that hypotheses 8, 10, and 12 are not supported.

This set of findings may provide an example of the “invisibility of conformity,” (Hornsey & Jetten, 2004:250) or the “failure to acknowledge the effect of normative pressures on [women’s] own behavior...” (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008: 895). In other words, because of how normal it is to remove body hair, most women *do* engage in removal and also do not question or even think about this behavior because it *is* so normal. As evidenced by the numbers of women in this study who were removers versus non-removers, hair removal is normal for this sample. This means that it might be difficult to find any definitive or explainable findings on the effects of certain attitudes or other bodily routines on removal behavior. Because we do not know enough about the reasons why women remove from public versus private areas of the body in the first place, it is especially difficult to predict why women engage in removal in the first place or in certain removal activities over others.

With only 14 significant t-tests on the effects of women’s attitudes or routines (out of 45), and with the reasons for these significant tests being unclear or unexplained, it is probably safer to conclude that significant associations were not found between participants’ general feelings about body hair and their depilation practices in bivariate analyses. Especially once the lack of significance in multivariate analyses is considered, we cannot assume support for any of the attitudinal or behavioral hypotheses. Only one attitudinal variable had a significant effect on public area depilation: multivariate findings revealed that participants’ negative attitudes towards body hair significantly influenced the extent of depilation from public body areas. Participants’ open-ended comments also reveal that their attitudes towards body hair were either mostly negative or neutral. Considerable research still needs to be done on

the relationships between attitudes, other bodily routines, and the extent of women's depilation from public and private body areas.

Knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/consequences.

The effects of university women's knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards and consequences for hairlessness/hairy bodies on the extent of depilation of body hair (from public and private) were explored as well, through the testing of four hypotheses ($H_{15} - H_{18}$). Bivariate findings revealed that hypothesis 15 and hypothesis 18 were supported in part. Specifically, significance was found for relationships between three of the five independent variables representing social rewards and the dependent variables. Participants who answered "no" to the statement, "Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?" reported removing hair from more public areas than participants who reported affirmatively. Yet, participants who reported having some knowledge of their friends' hair removal behavior reported removing hair from more private body areas than their counterparts. In addition, participants who believed that others noticed their hairless/hairy bodies reported removing hair from more private body areas than participants who did not believe that others noticed their bodies/body hair, and thus, hypothesis 18 was supported in part. Hypothesis 15 is supported in part as well, as one significant t-test revealed that participants in this sample who reported some knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards reported removing hair from more public area and two significant t-tests revealed that participants who reported this knowledge and/or experience also reported removing hair from more private areas. However, these results should be explored further because

significance was not found for the relationship between women's responses to each statement and the extent of depilation from both public and private body areas.

In addition, there was only one significant finding related to participants' knowledge of or experience with social consequences for hairy bodies and the extent of their depilation from public/private body areas. That is, participants who reported agreeing with the statement, "Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair?", also reported depilating hair from more public body areas. No other bivariate or multivariate findings suggest that participants' knowledge of or experiences with social consequences for hairy bodies played a statistically significant role in determining the extent of their depilation from public/private body areas. Therefore, hypothesis 16 was not supported. Additionally, in multivariate analyses, there were no significant relationships between the index variables representing social rewards and social consequences and any of the dependent variables. The overall lack of support for hypotheses 15, 16, and 18 may be related to the fact that a small percentage of women in this sample reported actual experiences with social rewards or consequences, when asked to respond to closed-ended questions.

In comparison, in the open-ended comments participants reported believing they had benefited from hairlessness in their personal/social lives, and some also reported believing they benefited in their professional lives. Through their open-ended comments, participants were able to provide more details and illustrate the areas of their lives within which they felt rewarded. In addition, open-ended comments indicate that participants who had been embarrassed because of their body hair also reported removing hair from more public body areas. Participants' open-ended comments

outlined the details of embarrassing situations and more importantly referenced the specific area of the body from which hair was not removed and the method they began using to remove the hair after being embarrassed (e.g., “A guy in my math class made fun of me for having hair on my upper lip, so I started waxing”). Open-ended comments therefore hint that relationships between women’s knowledge of and experience with social rewards/consequences and their depilatory behavior exist, but these data cannot flesh out potential relationships. Considerable study should be done in the future on the social rewards and consequences for hairlessness/hairy bodies, considering some of the relevant open-ended comments from women in this study.

Socialization to hairlessness norms.

This study assessed the relationships between university women’s socialization to hairlessness norms on the extent of depilation of body hair (from public and private body areas) and the number of depilatory methods used. The only hypothesis that guided these evaluations was hypothesis 19: that socialization to hairlessness norms will affect women’s current removal practices from public/private body areas. In bivariate analyses, there were six significant relationships between socialization to hairlessness norms and the extent of women’s depilation from public body areas. Specifically, participants who indicated that they were socialized to hairlessness norms by an aunt, grandmother, teacher, female friends, nephew, and/or the Internet reported removing hair from more public body areas than their counterparts. Therefore, hypothesis 19 is supported in part by these bivariate analyses. The primary agents of socialization of norms are family members (Hagedorn, 1994; Tepperman & Curtis, 2004; Clarke & Griffin, 2007), but bivariate analyses also reveal that women learned

about hairlessness norms from teachers, friends, and web-based media. Importantly, no relationships existed between participants' socialization to hairlessness norms and the extent of their depilation from private body areas. This finding might be because it is easier to discuss body hair removal from visible body areas (i.e., eyebrows) rather than private body areas (i.e., bikini area).

Participants' open-ended comments were also able to illustrate that the participants were taught about body hair and body hair removal from others, especially their mothers. Moreover, these comments reveal that when learning about body hair/hair removal these individuals associated this practice with gender norms, with pain, or with the establishment of a regular routine. In addition, open-ended comments were able to flesh out from which body areas (public/private) participants were taught and/or told to remove their body hair (e.g., "Never go above the knee" or "Just do your armpits"); which hair removal techniques work best (e.g., "warm soapy water" and "slow upward strokes"); and which depilatory methods they should use (e.g., razors/shaving). Lastly, the participants remembered that someone, such as their mother or friends, told them something cautionary, for instance, "Be careful," "It hurts when you cut yourself," or "Go slow." Further, in support of bivariate findings, these open-ended accounts usually detailed the participants' ways of learning to depilate from public body areas. Therefore, open-ended accounts correspond with quantitative results. Moving beyond quantitative results, however, these comments provide an explanation or offer clarification to some of the questions that remained regarding participants' socialization to hairlessness norms and depilation from public areas. Multivariate results also supported these findings and, thus, socialization to hairlessness norms is significantly

related to depilation from public body areas. Hypothesis 19 is supported, at least in its attempts to explain the variance in women's depilation from public body areas. Additionally, hypotheses 17 is fully supported, in that participants reported removing hair from more public/visible body areas than private/hidden body areas.

Testing the Three Main Hypotheses through Multivariate Regression Analyses

While many of the multivariate findings have already been reviewed above, it is important to draw conclusions about the three main hypotheses in this study ($H_{1.1}$, $H_{1.2}$, and $H_{1.3}$). Because it no longer made sense to examine the differences between removers and non-removers once a sample of primarily removers was collected, the original first hypothesis (H_1) was revised and made into three separate hypotheses that highlight public versus private removal, and the number of depilatory methods used (see the discussion of the revised hypotheses in Chapter Four). The first hypothesis (now $H_{1.1}$) was that (1) social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/social consequences, and (4) women's socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of body hair removal from public body sites. It was also hypothesized ($H_{1.2}$) that (1) social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair, (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/social consequences, and (4) women's socialization to hairlessness norms affect the extent of hair removal from private body sites. The third main hypothesis ($H_{1.3}$) utilized a third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods used. This variable was included

in the final analyses only as a way to help future researchers think about this topic, because concerns about this variable still exist. Specifically, this was an additive variable and it was difficult to understand the specific depilatory methods participants were utilizing; only the total number of depilatory methods was analyzed via this variable. In addition, it was unclear which depilatory methods were used for what body areas, based on the survey questions posed in this study. For instance, some participants could be using a razor to shave their legs, eyebrows, and bikini area simultaneously, or they might use a razor for only one area and a method like waxing for all others. Nonetheless, it was decided that the new third hypothesis ($H_{1.3}$) stated that (1) social background characteristics (e.g., age, race, relationship status, income, political beliefs, and employment status), (2) bodily routines and attitudes towards beauty/body hair (3) knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards/social consequences, and (4) socialization to hairlessness norms affect the total number of depilatory methods used.

Predicting the extent of women's hair removal from public body areas.

Based on the first set of regression results, findings indicated that the extent of participants' depilation from public body areas was significantly influenced by a higher number of negative attitudes towards body hair and greater female socialization to hairlessness norms. In regards to the latter finding, participants who reported that greater numbers of women taught them about hair removal also reported removing the hair from more public body areas. Thus, hypothesis 1.1 is supported in part because the number of negative attitudes and the number of female socializing agents significantly influence women's current depilation behavior. The first set of regression

results further indicated that participants' social background characteristics, adherence to other bodily routines, individual attitudes towards beauty/body hair (e.g. appearance-related, weight-related, hygiene-related, and hair-related), and knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/social consequences, did not directly influence the extent of University women's depilation from public body areas. In both bivariate and multivariate analyses, however, hypothesis 19 was supported in part and, thus, it can be safely stated that, within this sample of university women, greater female socialization to hairlessness norms influences the extent of women's depilation from public body areas. In addition, hypothesis 10 was supported (in part) by regression analyses, and thus, women who felt negatively towards body hair also reported depilating more public body areas. This finding parallels some of the bivariate results about negative attitudes as well.

Predicting the extent of women's hair removal from private body areas.

The second set of regression analyses revealed that no regression model could significantly predict the variance in the extent of women's depilation from private body areas. Thus, no hypotheses proposed in Chapter Four are supported by the second set of regressions. While there was some significance found for individual relationships between independent variables and the extent of women's depilation from private body areas, we must conclude that this significance was found at random and that much more research needs to be done in order to expand our understandings of depilation from private body areas.

Predicting the numbers of depilatory methods used.

The third set of regressions revealed that the number of socializing agents reported (i.e., female, male, and media) by participants significantly influenced the number of depilatory methods women reported in this study. More specifically, greater amounts of female socialization, male socialization, and media socialization all separately and significantly predicted the number of depilatory methods used. In addition, the number of female socializing agents had the strongest influence on the number of depilatory methods used. This specific finding supports existing literature that suggests that body hair removal is a learned behavior and that it is a gendered behavior as well (in that women may be overwhelmingly taught by other women to engage in this behavior) (Bartky, 1998; Bordo, 2003; Clarke & Griffin, 2007). In these regression results, participants' social background characteristics, adherence to other bodily routines, attitudes towards beauty/body (e.g. appearance-related, weight-related, hygiene-related, and hair-related), and knowledge of and/or their experiences with social rewards/social consequences, did not significantly influence the number of depilatory methods they used. Therefore, hypothesis 1.3 is supported by these results only in respect to the effects of socialization variables.

Summary of Data Analysis Efforts

Because the sample collected consisted of primarily removers, all hypotheses were revised to test the extent of women's depilation behavior from public/private areas. Thus, the results presented in this dissertation were the best out of many insignificant ones and were constricted by the data collected. In the future, more attention should be paid to the characteristics of recruited participants so that a more balanced sample of

removers and non-removers can be garnered. This is a lesson learned in retrospect, however, and so considerable effort was invested in trying to utilize the data collected, no matter how partial these data were.

Unfortunately, bivariate chi-square and t-test procedures did not reveal a lot of information about the extent of women's depilation from public or private body areas. In addition, it was difficult to determine whether or not the hypotheses were supported at all by these analyses, because hypotheses were not written specifically for the dependent variables that were used in the final data analyses. Thus, there is a disconnection between hypotheses and data analyses, even after revision of hypotheses. Multivariate regression procedures revealed a bit more information than bivariate analyses, and these limited findings may be useful in shaping future research. Future researchers may want to hone in on the possible links between different types of socialization and the extent of women's depilation behaviors, for instance. In addition, future research must look deeper into the reasons surrounding depilation from private body areas because this study has not been able to offer any conclusions about this particular type of depilatory behavior. Opportunities for research on the depilation of private body hair are endless.

A unique aspect of this survey was that it included numerous open-ended questions. While not every participant answered these questions, enough women in this study gave open-ended explanations of their attitudes and behaviors to make open-ended comments worthy of report. Participants' open-ended comments specifically reveal that their attitudes towards body hair and body hair removal were mixed, in that some were negative, but others were neutral and indicated that body hair was "not a big

deal.” Participants’ comments also show that they were knowledgeable of and had important experiences with social rewards/consequences for hairless/hairy bodies, contrary to statistical findings reported here. Their comments provide more details about both their attitudes and behaviors and, in some cases, help to clarify some of the statistical findings. For instance, in open-ended responses, participants were able to detail embarrassing situations related to body hair and reference the specific comments and areas of the body that caused their embarrassment. Lastly, the participants’ comments about socialization further reinforce the significant findings found for female socialization in particular. More specifically, open-ended comments were able to flesh out from which body areas the participants were told to or not to remove their body hair, which hair removal techniques work best, and which depilatory methods they should use for the best results. Therefore, open-ended comments about socialization parallel quantitative results at times, but go beyond statistical analyses to offer greater explanation for their answers to the closed-ended questions on the survey. Attention should be paid to participants’ open-ended comments in future studies as well.

Discussion of Important Findings

There were a few important findings in this study. First, although findings from this study are minimal and incomplete, participants did report removing hair from more public body areas than private body areas. Second, the significant finding of participants younger than 25 years and participants with lower individual incomes depilating more private body sites than their counterparts for instance, may suggest the importance of age and income in analyses of attitudes and behaviors toward body hair and body hair removal, however, these findings cannot be confirmed by these data

alone since they are not uniform across depilation from public and private areas. Third, the lack of racial differences found in this study is also an important finding as it highlights the fact that women, regardless of their race/ethnicity, might have similar attitudes toward their body hair attitudes and its removal. It is possible that the racial/ethnic differences in this sample were hidden once the race variable was dichotomized into “white” and “women of color.” Future analyses on these study data and analyses on other data should pay more attention to the variation among racial/ethnic categories, more so that this dissertation does.

Additionally, bivariate findings suggest that participants who agreed with the statement, “Having body hair is unattractive,” also reported depilating hair from more private body sites. Participants in this study who agreed with the statement, “Having body hair is unnatural,” reported removing hair from more public body areas, however. These findings possibly illustrate that specific attitudes are associated with body hair at different bodily locations. In other words, body hair that is located in one area of the body might not elicit the same feelings or attitudes as body hair in a different area of the body. This tentative finding may be important, then, only because it begins to suggest how varied women’s attitudes about body hair might be, and how women might not think uniformly about every body part or every kind of bodily hair. For instance, existing literature suggests that women may associate the removal of body hair from private locations with “glamour, sexiness, and liberation to a greater extent than the more mundane removal of [public] body hair” (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008:891). This may also begin to explain why women in this sample who reported disagreeing that “body hair is disgusting” or “annoying” also reported removing hair from more private areas.

Conversely, because having hair on public/visible body parts might go against hairlessness norms more directly, participants who reported depilating hair from more public body areas also agreed that “Having body hair is unnatural”. By depilating the hair from public body areas, women can be perceived as having “naturally” hairless, feminine bodies, including skin without imperfections (i.e., with body hair representing an imperfection) (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008). The overall importance of these tentative findings may be in the possibility that hairlessness norms have different meanings depending on the body location in question. Nonetheless, these findings are very tentative since very little significance was found in bivariate analyses. All statistical findings in this study must be confirmed with other, larger, more diverse samples.

Statistical findings related to women's knowledge of and/or experience with social rewards for hairlessness or social consequences for hairy bodies were also inconclusive, in that this knowledge/experience seemed to have little to no effect on depilation behavior. Nevertheless, this lack of significance may be important in and of itself, as it may reveal an overall commitment to hairlessness norms that goes beyond any personal knowledge or experience. Moreover, the fact that women may adhere to hairlessness norms to avoid negative social reactions from others may also be the reason that most women do not report experience with these social consequences (Dillenger & Williams, 1997). The fact that many women did share their knowledge of and experience with social rewards and consequences in their open-ended comments suggests that statistical analyses do not tell the whole story. Based on relevant open-ended comments made on this survey, university women have a lot of stories to share about the social rewards and consequences for hairlessness/hairy bodies, and these

stories should be collected more systematically. Therefore, future researchers should find a way to focus more fully on these topics, perhaps through the initiation of qualitative research (which could then be followed by a large-scale, more quantitative survey once women's experiences are clarified).

This study also confirms that the extent of participants' socialization to hairlessness norms significantly affects their depilation practices. Multivariate findings further illustrate that greater numbers of socializing agents (i.e., women, men, and media sources) have an effect on participants' depilation behaviors, in that the numbers of depilatory methods and the extent of women's depilation from public body areas increases with the number of socializing agents reported by this sample. Perhaps women do not learn as frequently to remove their body hair from private areas from other women, however, as this variable did not significantly affect the extent of women's depilation from private body areas. All mature women have hair in private body locations, and its removal signifies a "youthful preadolescent body" (Tiggemann & Hodgson, 2008:891); teachings of hair removal from private body locations (e.g. pubic hair) may not be as easily explained and/or justified. No open-ended comments about private area depilation were collected from participants in this survey..

Finally, the finding that, on average, participants used several different depilatory methods to remove their body hair also infers a subtle commitment to hairlessness norms. However, the use of different methods may relate to practicalities as well, such as cost of the product, the amount of hair to be removed, and from which area of the body will the hair be removed (Toerien et., al., 2005). Further, women may begin the process of attaining a hairless body by utilizing many different depilatory methods, but

eventually, they may learn from their friends, family members, and/or from the media, which depilatory methods (or combination of) are most effective for certain body areas. Whether or not the third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods used, is really worth studying and/or whether it is masking some other important depilatory behavior should be examined in more depth.

Connections between Study Results and Selected Theories

Foucauldian feminist theory suggests that women learn (or, specifically, are taught) to have hairless feminine bodies (Young, 1990). Thus, they may incorporate body hair removal practices into regular hygiene routines because they have incorporated norms about feminine bodies into their own attitudes and subsequently self-police their own physical appearances. In removing hair and engaging in other bodily routines (e.g., caring for their skin, styling head hair, etc.), women may be “doing gender” or, in other words, acting out bodily norms. West and Zimmerman (1987) argued that, rather than being an ascribed or innate personal characteristic, gender is an accomplishment that is achieved through social interaction. These authors asserted that the social construction and management of behavior is guided by normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category and, further, through social interaction, the social doings of gender are scrutinized and held accountable to normative conceptions of femininity and masculinity (1987:127, 129, and 136; Clarke & Griffin, 2007:701). Utilizing this conceptualization of gender as socially created and subject to social scrutiny and monitoring, this study illustrated how women who remove their body hair learn the rules of socially-acceptable female body behavior and attitudes through interactions with other women, especially family members.

Foucauldian feminist theory was more difficult to test than other theories used in this study, however, because survey questions did not ask women directly enough about their adherence to beauty norms. In addition, individual attitudes about beauty/femininity and body hair did not seem to affect participants' removal practices in most cases. Participants' reports of other bodily routines (that might show adherence to beauty or thinness norms and routines) also did not seem to affect removal practices. Further, while women often acknowledge that they believe women might receive positive feedback for hairlessness (social rewards) and/or negative feedback (social consequences) for hairy bodies; these attitudes were not significant in statistical analyses in the present study. Yet, open-ended comments about social rewards and consequences may tell a different story; the potential link between participants' knowledge of and experiences with social rewards/consequences for hairless/hairy bodies, and docile and/or disciplined bodies, must be explored further. Perhaps because body hair removal (especially from public body areas) is so "normal," it is difficult for individuals to even know or understand what their basic attitudes about body hair are. Ultimately, it is difficult to confirm the value of Foucauldian feminist theories about the body based on this study's results, but the link could be subtle and, therefore, easily missed. Future researchers should think more fully about how to test for the confirmation of Foucauldian feminist ideas.

Symbolic Interactionism suggests that the cultural meanings associated with hairlessness will influence how women think about themselves and their bodies, how women relate to and portray their bodies to others, and how others think and relate to women and their bodies (Longmore, 1998). Similar to Foucauldian theory, this theory

also suggests that others reinforce female-gender role expectations, such as body hair removal, around them, through the offering of social rewards (in the absence of body hair) or social consequences (in the presence of body hair). For instance, “that we are sexual is determined by a biological imperative toward reproduction, but how we are sexual—where, when, how often, with whom, and why—has to do with cultural learning, with meanings transmitted in a cultural setting” (Kimmel & Fracher, 1992:473). At base, women’s interactions with others, from early ages on through adulthood, will reinforce the importance of women’s physical appearances and in particular body hair removal practices. Therefore, women will adhere to hairlessness norms because of (1) their socialization to these norms and (2) their knowledge of and experiences with others’ reactions to their body hair/hairlessness. This study’s findings illustrated that women who reported greater numbers of female socialization to hairlessness norms also reported removing more hair from public areas and participants who reported an awareness of positive reactions because of their hairless bodies also reported removing hair from more public body areas. While these findings infer that women are cognizant of the power of their physical appearance and engage in hairlessness norms as a result, this study’s data cannot confirm this suggestion.

Finally, Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) suggests that women’s bodies are seen as a collection of individual parts that are constantly judged and evaluated. That is, legs, faces, hair, breasts, and other body parts help to define who a “woman” is and therefore women may pay closer attention to some of these body parts as they engage in hygiene or beauty routines. For instance, women think about how they look from a third person perspective and consider whether they fall short of an

idealized image of beauty (Quinn, et. al., 2006). This also means that women should be more likely to remove hair from body parts that are publicly visible and/or that define their femininity (e.g., eyebrows, upper lip, underarms, and/or legs). In general, women should report knowledge/experiences/practices that highlight the importance of particular body parts in society. In this study, there were more significant bivariate and multivariate findings related to depilation from public body areas than private areas, and women in this sample also reported removing hair from more public body areas than private areas. Open-ended comments also refer to public body areas more than private body areas, again inferring that women might spend more time thinking about public body areas than private body areas. Perhaps these findings suggest that there is greater attention to public body parts, but confirmation of this theory's tenets cannot be found in these data.

At base, with a sample of only removers, it was difficult to find any connections with the three theories outlined here (see also Chapter Three). In addition, most of the bivariate and multivariate findings were inconclusive and, thus, connections to the theories could not be confirmed based on this study's results. Interestingly, qualitative findings (offered through participants' responses to open-ended survey questions) offered more support for these three theories than the quantitative findings. Perhaps, when further exploring these theories in the future, it may help to look at this topic qualitatively first before undergoing quantitative research again.

Contributions and Limitations of the Study

The present study has contributed in four key ways to the small (although growing) pool of existing literature on women's body hair removal. For instance,

univariate findings from this study provide baseline data on the extent of and reasons for women's hair removal. Bivariate and multivariate findings further extend previous research by tentatively demonstrating that the reasons for women's hair removal may differ for different parts of the body. For instance, while women may remove their public body hair in an attempt to conform to beauty standards, they might remove their private body hair for other reasons, such as glamour, sexiness, health-related reasons, or cleanliness. All of these possibilities must be confirmed by future research, however, since the reasons behind most findings presented in this dissertation are still unclear. At a minimum, however, the results of the study begin to highlight the strength and power of hairlessness norms, and women's socialization to these norms.

There are very important limitations to this study, however, that perhaps outweigh its contributions. Several factors should be considered when interpreting the results of this study, or when planning for future studies on this topic. First, the use of convenience sampling limits the generalizability of the results. No conclusions about a larger population can be made in this dissertation as a result. Sample biases affect the results and, therefore, the results represent the attitudes and behaviors of only a small group of hair-removing women attending Wayne State University. Despite reported diversity within the sample, the average respondent was a lower level undergraduate student who was enrolled in an introductory sociology course and removed body hair at the time of the survey; thus, homogeneity in the sample may have been another reason for the lack of significant findings presented in this dissertation. In addition, the study's student population was young, unemployed, lived at home with their parents, and limited in education level. Another limitation is that while feminists and homosexual

women, in particular, are said to remove hair less frequently because they place less importance on beauty, femininity, and attractiveness (Basow, 1991; Tiggemann & Kenyon, 1998), there is an underrepresentation of feminist and homosexual women in this study. Moreover, an extensive comparison could not be made between single and married women because this sample was primarily single (40%) or dating (39%). While single or dating women may remove hair more frequently and/or for different reasons than married women, sample size did not allow for this comparison. If this study were done over again, greater efforts would be made to recruit students taking courses in other disciplines and colleges within the University, and students who do not remove their body hair. Efforts would also be made to recruit from courses that specifically deal with gender or sexuality issues, in an attempt to recruit more feminist and homosexual women. Attempts to recruit from evening courses as well as daytime courses would also be made, to try for a more balanced range of ages in the sample. Furthermore, only women were recruited for this study, but it needs to be acknowledged that there is an emerging trend in men's body hair removal (Boroughs et al., 2005). Perhaps, then, a better way to understand hairlessness norms and their gendered effects is to compare and contrast the feminine with the masculine. Future studies should include men to get these gender comparisons.

Next, the possibility of bias resulting from the use of self-reported data limits analyses. Respondents may provide socially desirable answers in some cases, rather than the truth, if they fear that they are not provided with confidentiality (de Vaus, 2002). Additionally, individuals may interpret the same event differently. Responses to questionnaires were based on perceptions which may fail to capture actual effects, and

examples given on the questionnaire may alter respondents' perceptions, as do personal experiences, values, recent experiences, and what type of day the person is having when the survey is answered (de Vaus, 2002). In the future, I would avoid this limitation by conducting face-to-face interviews with women.

In addition, there were some limitations to the dependent variables used in the final analyses for this dissertation. The three dependent variables, the extent of depilation from public body areas, the extent of depilation from private body areas, and the number of depilatory methods used, were created as additive variables. However, it was difficult to understand the specific areas participants were choosing to depilate in these analyses. When using only one variable about public depilation, for example, it was difficult to understand whether study results were largely based on women's removal from one or multiple public body areas. In other words, the specific body parts from which women in this sample were depilating were unclear when these dependent variables were used. In relation to the third dependent variable, regression analyses only provided information about the number of hair removal methods participants reported using, not about specific depilatory methods or the body parts on which these methods were used. Thus, when studying hairlessness norms in the future, depilatory methods should be examined individually and reported on in more detail. Private and public area depilation should be examined much more closely as well, and in a much more nuanced way than is done here.

Further, the coding of some of the independent variables also was problematic and may have masked results. For example, the variables measuring the extent of one's socialization to hairlessness had a significant impact on women's hair removal

practices. Unfortunately, though, because these variables were also created count variables, I could not distinguish which female, male, or media source had the greatest influence on the women.

Overall, based on my experience of running into these limitations way too late in the dissertation process, future researchers may want to focus on conceptualization, operationalization (measurement), recruitment, and early data analysis when studying this topic.¹¹ Moreover, this study unknowingly explored a causal order that I could not determine, since I could not distinguish if women's attitudes towards hairlessness lead to their removal behavior or whether the women removing their body hair later developed certain attitudes towards body hair and its removal. This relationship seems complex and reciprocal and many more studies need to be carried out that explore individuals' attitudes towards and practices of body hair removal.

In the end, this study as a whole was limited because the methodology was limited and the results were inconclusive. Specific bivariate analyses were conducted to test for influences on each of the twenty-five body areas and on each of the twelve depilatory methods, but results did not provide enough information. In addition, several sets of bivariate regressions were conducted to assess the relationships between the sets of independent variables related to beauty routines, clothing routines, knowledge/experience with social rewards and social consequences, the three socialization variables, and the three dependent variables (see Tables 1-3 in Appendix

¹¹ This is a methodological lesson learned only after a year of attempting to analyze these data correctly. Future researchers may want to focus on recruiting participants and analyzing univariate data as they are collected as this may prevent some of these limitations.

H), but the findings were not discussed in this dissertation. (Upon discussion with multiple members of the dissertation committee, the decision was made to present only the findings related to the sets of multivariate regressions, as these tested the entire model.) Bivariate regressions may have avoided the issue of parsimony as each independent variable could be included into the equation individually, but this analysis could not have tested the hypothesized model.

Despite the numerous limitations, this research project may be of some importance in the future if other researchers utilize its lessons and limitations to structure their own research projects differently. For instance, the data for this analysis was explored primarily in a quantitative way. More attention could be paid to the open-ended, qualitative results (these data are only partially analyzed in this dissertation). In addition, the questionnaire was too long. In most cases, participants who completed the questionnaire did not complete all of the qualitative or open-ended questions, which may have provided this research with a little more detail and/or could give more direction to future research.

Implications of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

The primary implication of this study is that, although studies do not always produce many significant results, one can still learn from them in the process. For instance, despite potential age-based or income-based findings in the data, results presented throughout this dissertation reveal a lack of significant differences among the female participants in this study. Seemingly diverse women in this sample may be more similar than different in their attitudes and behaviors; social background characteristics, in general, seem to matter little in determining these attitudes and behaviors. The idea

that women in this study might be more similar than different may add further credence to the hairlessness norm, but also has implications for how we should study this topic in the future.

It is also clear from this undertaking that body hair removal is difficult to study. Even after conducting hundreds of quantitative tests on a sample of 303 students, I was still left with few significant results. Thus, I believe that I missed the important nuances in my own data and, more generally, important opportunities in recruitment and data analyses. Yet, if future researchers incorporate the lessons I have learned into their own research and change how they study this topic, they may be able to uncover what I missed: the connections between women's hair removal attitudes, experiences, and behavior. At the very least, more research should be conducted to confirm existing literature. Subsequently, though, what is learned from this study is that future research should study each individual body area and depilatory method rather than the collective number of body areas depilated. This may help when studying the social meanings attached to each individual area and depilatory methods utilized to remove the hair.

The study's hypotheses should be more specific and focus on hair removal from individual body areas, such as "More women are likely to report removing hair from their legs than other body areas," or "Women are more likely to report removing hair from their pubic area for more sexual-attractiveness and self-enhancement reasons, and less for normative and femininity reasons" when attempting to study this topic.

Future researchers should also study individual socializing agents for their impact on adult women's attitudes and behavior. Researchers should also pay more attention to the reasons why social background characteristics may or may not appear significant

in statistical analyses and what results truly signify about women's social locations as a social context. At base, the implications of this study all indicate that future researchers must be attentive in creating, carrying out, and analyzing data for their study to avoid the shortcomings of the present study.

In particular, based on the results presented in this dissertation, future researchers should examine the meanings women associate with hair removal from different body areas, perhaps by asking women whether they consider the hair they are removing/not removing to be located on public versus private body areas by using qualitative methodology first, and then quantitative methodology second. For instance, qualitatively, a minimum of five "non-removers" and five "removers" should be recruited from liberal arts courses (e.g. women's studies and gay and lesbian studies), engineering, and other sciences, to ensure a diverse group of women. For the purposes of data analysis, semi-structured interviews should be conducted to allow for flexibility to probe for details or discuss issues. Some examples of questions may include, "Is your hair removal/non-removal specific to any bodily areas? Why?", "Do you feel differently about yourself or your body when you have/don't have body hair? Why?" and "What kinds of feedback have you received related to your appearance?" This methodological approach will ensure that the rich descriptions of the differences and/or similarities in attitudes of non-removers and removers, their circumstances, experiences, and the nature of their social world (which may affect their behavior) are thoroughly detailed.

Future researchers should further investigate the social rules and/or meaning attached to the specific locations of hair on the body. Moreover, it seems obvious that hair removal is considered normal and that everyone removes the same types of

public/private body hair. Therefore, future research should investigate the links between women's commitment to hairlessness norms and their methods and sites of hair removal. According to Tiggemann and Hodgson (2008), for example, waxing is a popular hair removal method for certain areas of the body (i.e. pubic hair); "as a hair removal method it is costly and painful, and thus indicative of serious commitment to [body] hair removal" (2008:895). Based on my own review of the existing literature to date, however, systematic analysis of the depilatory methods used (including the number of methods used, or body parts for which they are used) has not been completed.

Future researchers should focus on collecting better data by obtaining a more diverse sample. For instance, the study questionnaire may be distributed by using a snow-ball approach: through contact persons, such as university faculty and women's center directors who could hand out the questionnaire during lectures or to women attending the centers (respectively); by mail to feminist groups and gay and lesbian groups; through flyers accompanied by copies of the questionnaire that are placed in local leisure centers and "mom-friendly" places (e.g., Chuck E. Cheese, YMCA, daycares, etc.).

Even though based on a homogeneous convenience sample, this study confirms statements in the existing literature that the majority of women in the U.S engage in body hair removal (Basow, 1991). This study further proposes, but cannot confirm, that women in this sample have different reasons for removing hair from public and private areas of the body. Finally, study findings associated with women's socialization to hairlessness norms may demonstrate a potential link between participants' socialization

to hairlessness, their removal of hair from public body areas, and the number of depilatory methods they use. At the very least, then, this study is able to confirm that women remove hair from more public/visible body areas and that hair removal is a learned behavior among sample participants. Methodologically, this study's results can also point out many lessons that future researchers should take seriously when planning their own studies. At a minimum, these findings provide a baseline and teaching tool for future research.

"If we knew what we were doing, we wouldn't call it research."

~Albert Einstein

Appendix A: Human Investigation Committee (HIC) Approval



HUMAN INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE
 101 East Alexandrine Building
 Detroit Michigan 48201
 Phone: (313) 577-1628
 FAX: (313) 993-7122
<http://hic.wayne.edu>

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED APPROVAL

To: Bessie Rigakos
 Sociology
 2228 FAB

From: Ellen Barton, Ph.D. E. Barton
 Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: May 17, 2007

RE: HIC #: 056507B3E
 Protocol Title: Attitudes Toward Body Hair and Hair Removal: An Exploration of the Effects of Women's Social Characteristics
 Sponsor:
 Coeus #: 0705004863

Expiration Date: May 16, 2008

Risk Level/Category: No greater than minimal risk.

The above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were **APPROVED** following *Expedited Review* (Category 7*) by the Chairperson/designee for the Wayne State University Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of 05/17/2007 through 05/16/2008. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

○ Information Sheet

-
- Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You may receive a "Continuation Renewal Reminder" approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval **before** the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can **never** be reported or published as research data.

- All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the HIC **BEFORE** implementation.
- Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the HIC Policy (<http://www.hic.wayne.edu/hicpol.html>).

NOTE:

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the HIC office must be contacted immediately.
2. Forms should be downloaded from the HIC website at each use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

Appendix B: Information Sheet

Research Information

Attitudes Toward Body Hair and Hair Removal

Principal Investigator (PI): Bessie N. Rigakos
Sociology
313-577-8972

Purpose:

You are being asked to be in a research study of students' knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs about women's body hair removal practices because opinions of students are an important first step to understanding the general public's attitudes toward this behavior. This study is being conducted at Wayne State University.

Study Procedures:

If you take part in the study, you will be asked to:

1. Complete the attached questionnaire by circling the appropriate response on the sheet.
2. Return the completed questionnaire.

Completing the questionnaire will take approximately 20-30 minutes and you will only have to participate in this study once.

Benefits:

As a participant in this research study, there will be no direct benefit for you; however, information from this study may benefit other people now or in the future.

Risks:

There are no known risks at this time to participation in this study.

Costs:

There will be no costs to you for participation in this research study.

Compensation:

You will not be paid for taking part in this study.

Confidentiality:

All information collected about you during the course of this study will be kept without any identifiers.

Voluntary Participation /Withdrawal:

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part in this study, or if you decide to take part, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the study.

You are free to not answer any questions or withdraw at any time. Your decision will not change any present or future relationships with Wayne State University or its affiliates.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study now or in the future, you may contact Bessie Rigakos at (313) 577-0774 or Dr. Heather Dillaway at (313) 577-2930. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, the Chair of the Human Investigation Committee can be contacted at (313) 577-1628. If you are unable to contact the research staff, or if you want to talk to someone other than the research staff, you may also call (313) 577-1628 to ask questions or voice concerns or complaints.

Participation:

By completing the questionnaire you are agreeing to participate in this study.

Appendix C: Questionnaire
Attitudes Toward Body Hair and Hair Removal

Appearance-Related Questions

This first section of questions asks you to talk about your PHYSICAL APPEARANCE and the routines you might have related to your appearance.

Please circle the most appropriate answer for each question.

1. How important to you is your PHYSICAL APPEARANCE?

Not at all Important				Very Important		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. In general, how much time do you put into your appearance in a typical day?
 1. 0-15 minutes
 2. 16-30 minutes
 3. 31-45 minutes
 4. 46-60 minutes
 5. Between 1-2 hours
 6. More than 2 hours
3. I feel good about my appearance most of the time.
 1. Strongly Agree
 2. Agree
 3. Disagree
 4. Strongly Disagree
4. In the past year, did you go to a professional hair stylist to get your HAIR ON YOUR HEAD styled (for example, cut, colored, permed/ straightened, etc)?
 0. No
 1. Yes
 - a.) If yes, within the last month, how often did you get your HAIR ON YOUR HEAD professionally styled
 1. Not at all
 1. One time
 2. Two times
 3. Three times
 4. Four times
 5. Five or more times
 6. Everyday

b.) On your last visit to a professional hair stylist, which of the following did you have done to the HAIR ON YOUR HEAD? Circle all that apply.

1. Wash/Dry
2. Cut/Trim
3. Color/Highlights/Lowlights
4. Styled (Blown Out, Perm/Straightened, Curled, Up-dos)

c.) Why do you get the HAIR ON YOUR HEAD professionally styled?

5. How much money did you spend on getting the HAIR ON YOUR HEAD professionally styled in the past month?

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. \$ 0 – \$ 10.99 | 7. \$61.00 – \$70.99 |
| 2. \$11.00 – \$20.99 | 8. \$71.00 – \$80.99 |
| 3. \$21.00 – \$30.99 | 9. \$81.00 – \$90.99 |
| 4. \$31.00 – \$40.99 | 10. \$91.00 – \$100.99 |
| 5. \$41.00 – \$50.99 | 11. \$101.00 + |
| 6. \$51.00 – \$60.99 | |

6. In the past year, did you wear any FACIAL MAKEUP (for example, lipstick, concealer, blush, eye shadow, mascara, etc)?

0. No
1. Yes

a.) If yes, within the last month, how often have you worn FACIAL MAKEUP?

1. Not at all
2. Every once in a while
3. Once or twice a week
4. Three or four times a week
5. Five or six times a week
6. Everyday

b.) Why do you wear FACIAL MAKEUP?

7. It is important to me to wear FACIAL MAKEUP when I leave the house.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly Disagree

8. How much money did you spend on FACIAL MAKEUP in the past month?

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. \$ 0 – \$ 10.99 | 7. \$61.00 – \$70.99 |
| 2. \$11.00 – \$20.99 | 8. \$71.00 – \$80.99 |
| 3. \$21.00 – \$30.99 | 9. \$81.00 – \$90.99 |
| 4. \$31.00 – \$40.99 | 10. \$91.00 – \$100.99 |
| 5. \$41.00 – \$50.99 | 11. \$101.00 + |
| 6. \$51.00 – \$60.99 | |

9. In the past year, did you get MANICURES for your fingernails?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) If yes, within the last month, how often did you get a MANICURE?

- 1. Not at all
- 2. One time
- 3. Two times
- 4. Three times
- 5. Four times
- 6. Five or more times
- 7. Everyday

10. How much money did you spend on MANICURES in the past month?

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. \$ 0 – \$ 10.99 | 7. \$61.00 – \$70.99 |
| 2. \$11.00 – \$20.99 | 8. \$71.00 – \$80.99 |
| 3. \$21.00 – \$30.99 | 9. \$81.00 – \$90.99 |
| 4. \$31.00 – \$40.99 | 10. \$91.00 – \$100.99 |
| 5. \$41.00 – \$50.99 | 11. \$101.00 + |
| 6. \$51.00 – \$60.99 | |

11. In the past year, did you get PEDICURES for your toenails?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) If yes, within the last month, how often did you get a PEDICURE?

- 1. Not at all
- 2. One time
- 3. Two times
- 4. Three times
- 5. Four times
- 6. Five or more times
- 7. Everyday

12. How much money did you spend on PEDICURES in the past month?

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. \$ 0 – \$ 10.99 | 7. \$61.00 – \$70.99 |
| 2. \$11.00 – \$20.99 | 8. \$71.00 – \$80.99 |
| 3. \$21.00 – \$30.99 | 9. \$81.00 – \$90.99 |
| 4. \$31.00 – \$40.99 | 10. \$91.00 – \$100.99 |
| 5. \$41.00 – \$50.99 | 11. \$101.00 + |
| 6. \$51.00 – \$60.99 | |

13. Do you engage in any daily SKIN CARE ROUTINES (that is, do you do special things to take care of your skin)?

0. No
1. Yes

a.) If yes, explain what you do to take care of your skin:

14. How important is it to you to have a daily SKIN CARE ROUTINE?

Not at all Important

Very Important

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. How much money did you spend on SKIN CARE PRODUCTS in general in the past month?

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. \$ 0 – \$ 10.99 | 7. \$61.00 – \$70.99 |
| 2. \$11.00 – \$20.99 | 8. \$71.00 – \$80.99 |
| 3. \$21.00 – \$30.99 | 9. \$81.00 – \$90.99 |
| 4. \$31.00 – \$40.99 | 10. \$91.00 – \$100.99 |
| 5. \$41.00 – \$50.99 | 11. \$101.00 + |
| 6. \$51.00 – \$60.99 | |

a.) If you buy skin care products, what is your favorite skin care product? And why?

16. What is your favorite type of CLOTHING? Give an example of your favorite outfit.

17. Do you wear sleeveless BLOUSES/SHIRTS in the summer?

0. No
1. Yes

a.) If yes, how often do you wear sleeveless BLOUSES/SHIRTS in the summer months?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Not at all | 4. Three or four times a week |
| 2. Every once in a while | 5. Five or six times a week |
| 3. Once or twice a week | 6. Everyday |

18. Do you wear knee- length and/or mini SKIRTS on a regular basis?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) If yes, within the last month, how often did you wear knee- length and/or mini SKIRTS?

- 1. Not at all
- 2. Every once in a while
- 3. Once or twice a week
- 4. Three or four times a week
- 5. Five or six times a week
- 6. Everyday

19. Do you wear BATHING SUITS in the summer?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) If yes, how often do you wear BATHING SUITS in the summer months?

- 1. Not at all
- 2. Every once in a while
- 3. Once or twice a week
- 4. Three or four times a week
- 5. Five or six times a week
- 6. Everyday

20. Do you wear SHORTS in the summer?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) If yes, how often do you wear SHORTS in the summer months?

- 1. Not at all
- 2. Every once in a while
- 3. Once or twice a week
- 4. Three or four times a week
- 5. Five or six times a week
- 6. Everyday

21. Do you wear OPEN-TOED SHOES in the summer months?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) If yes, how often do you wear OPEN-TOED SHOES in the summer months?

1. Not at all
2. Every once in a while
3. Once or twice a week
4. Three or four times a week
5. Five or six times a week
6. Everyday

22. How important to you is your PHYSICAL HEALTH?

Not at all Important					Very Important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23. Do you worry about your WEIGHT/ BODY SIZE?

0. No
1. Yes

a.) If yes, how often do you think about your WEIGHT/ BODY SIZE?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Not at all | 4. Three or four times a week |
| 2. Every once in a while | 5. Five or six times a week |
| 3. Once or twice a week | 6. Everyday |

24. Do you diet?

0. No
1. Yes
2. Sometimes

25. How important is it that your body be THIN?

Not at all Important					Very Important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

26. It is important to me to appear CLEAN most of the time.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly Disagree

27. How important to you is your HYGIENE?

Not at all Important					Very Important	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Body Hair Attitudes and Routines

Now think about your BODY HAIR. As a reminder, body hair is ANY HAIR ON YOUR BODY BESIDES THE HAIR ON YOUR HEAD.

For the following questions, please select the answer that best describes your attitudes or practices.

28. HAVE YOU EVER REMOVED any of your body hair (that is, any hair on your body besides the hair on your head)?

0. No

1. Yes

a.) If yes, approximately HOW OLD WERE YOU when you first removed your body hair?

1. 9 years old

7. 15 years old

2. 10 years old

8. 16 years old

3. 11 years old

9. 17 years old

4. 12 years old

10. 18 years old

5. 13 years old

11. 19 years old or older

6. 14 years old

12. I can't remember

29. Do you CURRENTLY remove your body hair?

0. No

1. Yes

30. What is your EARLIEST MEMORY of learning about body hair removal? Tell me about that experience.

31. In general, HOW DO YOU FEEL about your body hair?

1. Very negatively

2. Somewhat Negatively

3. Indifferent

4. Somewhat Positively

5. Very Positively

32. In general, HOW DO YOU FEEL about removing your body hair?

1. It is always necessary

2. It is necessary sometimes

3. It is unnecessary

4. I don't know

33. How much money did you spend on BODY HAIR REMOVAL PRODUCTS in the past month?

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. \$ 0 – \$ 10.99 | 7. \$61.00 – \$70.99 |
| 2. \$11.00 – \$20.99 | 8. \$71.00 – \$80.99 |
| 3. \$21.00 – \$30.99 | 9. \$81.00 – \$90.99 |
| 4. \$31.00 – \$40.99 | 10. \$91.00 – \$100.99 |
| 5. \$41.00 – \$50.99 | 11. \$101.00 + |
| 6. \$51.00 – \$60.99 | 12. I do not remove my body hair |

a.) If you buy body hair removal products, what is your favorite body hair removal product? And why?

34. From WHICH AREAS OF YOUR BODY have you removed body hair? Circle all that apply

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. Face, hairline | 16. Arms (upper and/or lower) |
| 2. Face, forehead | 17. Underarms |
| 3. Face, eyebrows | 18. Hands (and/ or fingers) |
| 4. Face, upper lip | 19. Legs (upper and/or lower) |
| 5. Face, chin | 20. Feet (and/or toes) |
| 6. Face, other | 21. Buttocks |
| 7. Ears | 22. Bikini line |
| 8. Nose | 23. More than bikini line but less than whole pubic area |
| 9. Neck | 24. Pubic area but left strip, patch, triangle, or other shape |
| 10. Shoulders | 25. Whole pubic area |
| 11. Chest | 26. Whole pubic area + anal area |
| 12. Breasts/ Nipples | 27. do not remove body hair |
| 13. Back, upper | 28. Other _____ |
| 14. Back, lower | |
| 15. Stomach | |

35. WHICH HAIR REMOVAL METHOD do you use most often? Circle all that apply.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Shaving, regular razor | 7. Sugaring |
| 2. Shaving, electric razor | 8. Threading |
| 3. Electric clippers | 9. Tweezing |
| 4. Hair removal creams/ chemical depilatories | 10. Trimming |
| 5. Home waxing (cold wax, hot wax, strip wax) | 11. Laser hair removal |
| 6. Salon waxing | 12. Electrolysis |
| | 13. Other _____ |
| | 14. I do not remove my body hair |

a.) Which is your favorite method of removing body hair, and why?

36. WHY DID YOU START removing your body hair? Select the most accurate answer

1. Overheard someone talking about it
2. Talked to someone about it
3. Observed others that did it
4. Observed someone I know doing it
5. Family members influenced me
6. Magazine and other media influenced me
7. Negative feedback from others influenced me
8. I do not remove my body hair

37. WHO TAUGHT YOU body hair removal practices? Circle all that apply

- | | | |
|------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 0. Mother | 7. Grandmother | 13. Female Cousins |
| 1. Father | 8. Grandfather | 14. TV |
| 2. Myself | 9. Teacher | 15. Magazines |
| 3. Sister | 10. Female Friends | 16. Internet |
| 4. Brother | 11. Niece | 17. N/A |
| 5. Aunt | 12. Nephew | 18. I do not remove my body hair |
| 6. Uncle | | |

a.) Please explain WHAT YOU WERE TAUGHT about body hair/body hair removal:

38. HAVE YOU EVER STOPPED removing your body hair?

0. No
1. Yes

a) If yes, please explain WHEN AND WHY YOU STOPPED removing your body hair.

39. How FREQUENTLY do you remove your body hair from any body part in each season?

Place an "X" in the box that best represents your hair removal practices in each season.

<u>How frequently do you remove your body hair from any body part?</u>								
	Daily	Every other day	Once a week	Every 2 weeks	Once a month	Every 6 weeks	Every few months	Never
a.) SUMMER								
b.) WINTER								
c.) SPRING								
d.) FALL								

40. Using a scale from 1-5, with 1 being "not important" and 5 being "extremely important", rate the importance of the following.

"HOW IMPORTANT is it for you to:"

	Not Important					Extremely Important				
a.) Remove your body hair before being seen by your partner/ significant other?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]					
b.) Remove your body hair before being seen by friends?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]					
c.) Remove your body hair before being seen by family?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]					
d.) Remove your body hair before being seen by strangers?	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]					

41. Have you ever BLEACHED/DYED any of your body hair? Circle all that apply

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Face, hairline | 14. Back, lower |
| 2. Face, forehead | 15. Stomach |
| 3. Face, eyebrows | 16. Arms (upper and/or lower) |
| 4. Face, upper lip | 17. Underarms |
| 5. Face, chin | 18. Hands (and/ or fingers) |
| 6. Face, other | 19. Legs (upper and/or lower) |
| 7. Ears | 20. Feet (and/or toes) |
| 8. Nose | 21. Buttocks |
| 9. Neck | 22. Bikini line |
| 10. Shoulders | 23. Whole pubic area |
| 11. Chest | 24. Whole pubic area + anal area |
| 12. Breasts/ Nipples | 25. I do not bleach my body hair |
| 13. Back, upper | |

42. I prefer to have this type of body hair REMOVED BY A PROFESSIONAL. Circle all that apply.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Face, hairline | 17. Underarms |
| 2. Face, forehead | 18. Hands (and/ or fingers) |
| 3. Face, eyebrows | 19. Legs (upper and/or lower) |
| 4. Face, upper lip | 20. Feet (and/or toes) |
| 5. Face, chin | 21. Buttocks |
| 6. Face, other | 22. Bikini line |
| 7. Ears | 23. More than bikini line but less than whole pubic area |
| 8. Nose | 24. Pubic area but left strip, patch, triangle, or other shape |
| 9. Neck | 25. Whole pubic area |
| 10. Shoulders | 26. Whole pubic area + anal area |
| 11. Chest | 27. No, I do not remove body hair |
| 12. Breasts/ Nipples | 28. I prefer to remove all areas myself |
| 13. Back, upper | |
| 14. Back, lower | |
| 15. Stomach | |
| 16. Arms (upper and/or lower) | |

43. Do you HIDE your body hair removal practices from others?

- 0. No (skip to b)
- 1. Yes (Go to a)

a.) FROM WHOM do you hide your body hair removal practices? Circle all that apply

1. Friends
2. Roommates
3. Siblings
4. Children
5. Parents
6. Partner/ Husband/ Significant Other
7. Other _____
8. I do not hide my hair removal practices from anyone
9. I do not remove body hair

b.) WHO HAS SEEN YOU remove your body hair? Circle all that apply

1. Friends
2. Roommates
3. Siblings
4. Children
5. Parents
6. Partner/ Husband/ Significant Other
7. Other _____
8. I do not hide my hair removal practices from anyone
9. I do not remove body hair

c.) Please explain why you do (or don't) hide your hair removal practices.

For the following questions, place an “X” in the box that best represents your OPINIONS ABOUT BODY HAIR.

	No	Yes	Sometimes
44. Do you think you are more attractive when you remove your body hair?			
45. Do you think women who do not remove their body hair can be attractive?			
46. Do you think women should have equality with men in intimate relationships?			
47. Do you enjoy removing your body hair?			
48. Is it important to you that others notice your ‘hair free’ body?			
49. Are you attracted to hairless people (either male or female)?			
50. Does being hairless change how others perceive you?			
51. Do you think you have been successful at becoming beautiful?			
52. Do you think women who do not remove their body hair can be beautiful?			
53. Do you think women should have economic equality with men?			
54. Do you think you are successful economically (e.g., paying bills, earning money, saving money, etc.)?			

For the following questions, place an “X” in the box that best represents your OPINION ABOUT HAIR REMOVAL.

Effects of Body Hair Removal			
	No	Yes	Don't Know
55. Do you think that 'hair free' women are more likely to get hired for jobs?			
56. Do you think that 'hair free' women are more likely to get dates?			
57. Do you think a woman's beauty can be achieved through body hair removal?			
58. Do most of your friends remove their body hair?			
59. Would you go to work without removing your body hair?			
60. Would you go out socializing without removing your body hair?			
61. Do you think others notice your body hair when you do not remove it?			

62. Do you think removing body hair has ever AFFECTED YOUR LIFE IN A POSITIVE WAY? (career, professional/job promotions, educational experiences/opportunities)?

0. No

1. Yes

2. Don't remember

a.) If yes, give an example:

63. Do you think removing body hair has ever AFFECTED YOUR INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS IN A POSITIVE WAY?

0. No

1. Yes

2. Don't remember

a.) If yes, give an example:

64. Do you think body hair removal is MORE IMPORTANT FOR WOMEN THAN FOR MEN?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) Please explain why or why not.

65. I FEEL GOOD ABOUT MYSELF most of the time

- 1. Strongly Agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

66. How would you rate your overall SELF-CONFIDENCE?

- 1. Poor
- 2. Fair
- 3. Good
- 4. Excellent
- 5. Other: _____
- 6. Don't know

67. I think other people think POSITIVE THOUGHTS ABOUT ME most of the time.

- 1. Strongly Agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

68. I think other people think POSITIVE THOUGHTS ABOUT MY PHYSICAL APPEARANCE most of the time.

- 1. Strongly Agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree

69. HAVE YOU EVER BENEFITED because of your physical appearance?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes

a.) If yes, give an example

70. HAVE YOU EVER TALKED TO ANYONE about your body hair?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes (Go to a)
- 2. Don't remember

a.) If yes, give an example

71. HAVE YOU EVER TALKED TO ANYONE about your body hair removal practices?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes (Go to a)
- 2. Don't remember

a.) If yes, give an example

72. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN EMBARRASSED because of your body hair?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes (Go to a)
- 2. Don't remember

a.) If yes, give an example

73. Do you think WOMEN OF DIFFERENT RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS have the same ATTITUDES about body hair removal?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes
- 2. Don't know

74. Do you think WOMEN OF DIFFERENT RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS have the same PRACTICES of body hair removal?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes
- 2. Don't know

a.) Please explain your answer to the last two questions:

75. Do you think WOMEN OF YOUR SAME RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP are more hairy than women of different racial/ethnic groups than you?

- 0. No
- 1. Yes
- 2. Don't know

a.) Please explain your answer:

More Attitudes about Body Hair

76. How do you feel about yourself WHEN YOU DO NOT REMOVE YOUR BODY HAIR?

- 1. Extremely bad
- 2. Moderately bad
- 3. Some good and bad feelings
- 4. Moderately good
- 5. Extremely good

77. How anxious would you feel IF YOU WERE UNABLE TO REMOVE YOUR BODY HAIR FOR SEVERAL WEEKS?

- 1. Not anxious at all
- 2. Slightly anxious
- 3. Somewhat anxious
- 4. Moderately anxious
- 5. Extremely anxious

78. How do you feel about WOMEN WHO DO NOT REMOVE VISIBLE BODY HAIR

(underarms, legs, facial hair)?

- 1. Very negatively
- 2. Somewhat negatively
- 3. Neutral
- 4. Somewhat positively
- 5. Very positively

79. **“WHY DO YOU REMOVE YOUR BODY HAIR?”** Place an “X” in the box that best represents your opinion. If you do NOT remove body hair, skip to question 80.

<u>“I REMOVE MY BODY HAIR BECAUSE”:</u>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
a.) I like the soft, silky feeling of my skin without hair					
b.) I like the way it looks					
c.) It makes me feel attractive					
d.) It makes me feel feminine					
e.) I am trying to avoid looking masculine					
f.) Body hair removal lessens or removes body odor					
g.) Body hair increases body odor					
h.) Men prefer it					
i.) Women are supposed to remove their body hair					
j.) I feel sexier without body hair					
k.) I feel younger without body hair					
l.) I look cleaner without body hair					
m.) It is just a habit or a regular routine					
n.) I want to avoid teasing/attracting negative attention					
o.) There is family pressure to remove my body hair					
p.) My male friends want me to remove my body hair					
q.) My female friends want me to remove my body hair					
r.) I receive social approval if I remove my body hair					
s.) I have better sexual experiences without my body hair					
t.) I get more professional credibility if I remove my body hair					
u.) It is required for my sports activities					
v.) It a requirement of my job					
w.) Body hair is uncomfortable					
x.) Body hair is ugly					
y.) My partner/husband/boyfriend wants me to remove my body hair (Skip to z if not applicable)					
z.) It is easy to remove my body hair					
aa.) I have medical reasons (e.g. having a baby, medical treatments, surgery, etc.)					
bb) I like the experience of removing my body hair					

80. How do you feel about MEN WHO REMOVE BODY HAIR? (legs, underarms, chest, back)?

1. Very negatively
2. Somewhat negatively
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat positively
5. Very positively

81. If you moved to A PLACE WHERE BODY HAIR REMOVAL WAS NOT COMMON would you still remove your body hair?

1. No, I would keep my body hair so I would fit in
2. I would still remove my body hair, but I would do it less often
3. Yes, I would still maintain my hair removal practices
4. I don't know

82. Have you ever allowed YOUR PARTNER/HUSBAND/SIGNIFICANT OTHER to remove your body hair?

0. No
1. Yes
2. Not applicable

83. Do you prefer that YOUR SEXUAL PARTNERS remove their body hair?

0. No
1. Yes
2. Don't know
3. Not Applicable

84. **“I DO NOT REMOVE MY BODY HAIR BECAUSE”**: Place an “X” in the box that best represents your opinion.

If you ALWAYS remove your body hair, skip to question 85.

<u>“I DO NOT REMOVE MY BODY HAIR BECAUSE”</u>:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
a.) Body hair is sexy					
b.) Body hair is natural					
c.) Women should not have to remove their body hair					
d.) I'm lazy					
e.) My life is too busy					
f.) I'm not currently in a relationship					
g.) I only do it seasonally					
h.) I have sensitive skin					
i.) My body is fine as is					
j.) Body hair removal lessens or removes body odor					
k.) Body hair increases body odor					
l.) My hair growth is naturally light					
m.) Budget considerations- it's too expensive to remove my body hair					
n.) I am trying to make a political statement					
o.) I'm attracted to people with body hair					
p.) I have medical reasons					
q.) My partner/husband/boyfriend asked me to keep my body hair (skip to r if not applicable)					
r.) It is too time-consuming to remove my body hair					
s.) My sports activities require that I keep my body hair (skip to t if not applicable)					
t.) I have better sexual experiences when I have body hair (skip to u if not applicable)					
u.) I like the experience of having body hair.					

85. On average, what type of REACTIONS have you received from other people about your body hair removal?

1. Extremely negative reactions
2. Moderately negative reactions
3. Both good and bad reactions
4. Moderately positive reactions
5. Extremely positive reactions
6. Neutral reactions
7. I do not remove my body hair

86. On average, what REACTIONS have you received about not removing your body hair?

1. Extremely negative reactions
2. Moderately negative reactions
3. Both good and bad reactions
4. Moderately positive reactions
5. Extremely positive reactions
6. Neutral reactions
7. I always remove my body hair

87. **“HAVING BODY HAIR (BOTH VISIBLE AND HIDDEN) IS”:** Place an “X” in the box that best represents your opinion

<u>“HAVING BODY HAIR IS”:</u>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know
a.) Disgusting					
b.) Sexy					
c.) Beautiful					
d.) Annoying					
e.) Natural					
f.) Unnatural					
g.) Attractive					
h.) Unattractive					
i.) Embarrassing					
j.) Itchy					
k.) Youthful					
l.) Clean					
m.) Unclean					
n.) Protective					
o.) Important					
p.) Unimportant					
q.) Not a big deal					

Demographics

For each of the following questions, circle ONE (1) answer:

88. What is your SEX? 0. Male 1. Female

89. Are you currently EMPLOYED?

0. No

1. Yes

a.) If yes, what is your JOB TITLE? _____

b.) If yes, which of the following categories best describes your employment?

1. Fulltime

2. Part-time

3. Temporary/seasonal

4. Odd jobs

5. Other (please specify) _____

90. What is your annual INDIVIDUAL INCOME?

1. \$ 0- 10,999

2. \$ 11,000- \$ 20,999

3. \$ 21,000- \$ 30,999

4. \$ 31,000- \$ 40,999

5. \$41,000- \$ 50,999

6. \$51,000- \$ 60,999

7. \$61,000- \$ 70,999

8. \$71,000 and over

91. What is your annual FAMILY INCOME (I.E., YOUR HOUSEHOLD INCOME)?

1. \$ 0- 10,999

2. \$ 11,000- \$ 20,999

3. \$ 21,000- \$ 30,999

4. \$ 31,000- \$ 40,999

5. \$41,000- \$ 50,999

6. \$51,000- \$ 60,999

7. \$61,000- \$ 70,999

8. \$71,000 and over

92. What is your AGE? _____

93. In what YEAR were you born? _____

94. What is your MARITAL OR RELATIONSHIP STATUS?

1. Single
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Cohabiting/ Living Together
5. Engaged
6. Separated/ Widowed
7. Dating
8. Other (please specify) _____

95. What is your RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION?

1. Protestant
2. Catholic
3. Jewish
4. Muslim
5. Orthodox
6. Agnostic
7. Atheist
8. Other (please specify) _____

96. Thinking of the stand you take on most social issues, how would you place yourself on a scale of 0 to 4, with 0 being very conservative and 4 being very liberal?

Very Conservative

Very Liberal

[0] [1] [2] [3] [4]

97. Describe your current SEXUAL ORIENTATION.

1. Heterosexual
2. Lesbian
3. Bisexual
4. Other (please specify) _____

98. What is your RACIAL OR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?

1. White/ European American/ Caucasian
2. Hispanic American/ Latin(o/a)
3. Asian American/ Pacific Islander
4. Black/ African American
5. Native American
6. Arab American
7. Other (please specify) _____.

99. What is your NATIONALITY (Country of family origin)?

100. Do you have CHILDREN?

0. No

1. Yes

a.) If yes, do these children currently live with you in your home?

0. No

1. Yes

b.) If yes, how old are your children? _____

101. Which of the following best describes your PLACE OF RESIDENCE?

1. I live in a dormitory at Wayne State University.
2. I rent an apartment or house with close friends.
3. I rent an apartment or house with a partner/husband/significant other.
4. I rent an apartment or house and live alone.
5. I own a condo, townhouse or house and live there with close friends.
6. I own a condo, townhouse or house and live there alone.
7. I own a condo, townhouse or house and live there with my partner/husband/significant other/kids.
8. I live at home with my parents.
9. Other (please specify): _____

102. Please add ANY OTHER COMMENTS about women and body hair that I have not asked about.

103. Please add ANY OTHER COMMENTS about women and body hair removal that I have not asked about.

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix D

Table 1: General Sample Profile (N=303)

Variable	Number of Women	Percent
Age*		
18 years or younger	7	2.3
19-33 years	261	86.1
34 years or older	35	11.6
Race		
Caucasian	92	30.4
Black/ African American	76	25.1
Hispanic/ Latina	60	19.8
Asian American/ Pacific Islander	31	10.2
Arabic	35	11.6
Native American	3	1
Other	6	2
Marital Status		
Single	122	40.3
Dating	118	38.9
Cohabiting	35	11.6
Married	19	6.3
Engaged	5	1.7
Divorced	2	0.7
Separated/ Widowed	1	0.3
Other	1	0.3
Annual Individual Income		
\$ 0.00 - \$10,999	218	71.9
\$ 11,000 - \$20,999	25	8.3
\$ 21,000 - \$30,999	10	3.3
\$ 31,000 - \$40,999	20	6.6
\$ 41,000 - \$50,999	15	5
\$ 51,000 - \$60,999	4	1.3
\$ 61,000 - \$70,999	4	1.3
\$ 71,000 and over	7	2.3
Annual Family Income		
\$ 0.00 - \$10,999	2	0.7
\$ 11,000 - \$20,999	49	16.2
\$ 21,000 - \$30,999	23	7.6
\$ 31,000 - \$40,999	34	11.2
\$ 41,000 - \$50,999	50	16.5
\$ 51,000 - \$60,999	15	5
\$ 61,000 - \$70,999	45	14.9
\$ 71,000 and over	85	28.1

*Age variable collapsed

Appendix D

Table 1: General Sample Profile (N=303)

Cont

Variable	Number of Women	Percent
Religious Affiliation		
Catholic	90	29.7
Muslim	47	15.5
Protestant	44	14.5
Orthodox	34	11.2
Jewish	26	8.6
Atheist	14	4.6
Agnostic	12	4
Other	36	11.9
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	291	96
Bisexual	7	2.3
Lesbian	5	1.7
Political Beliefs		
Very Conservative	64	21.1
Conservative	90	29.7
Neutral	60	19.8
Liberal	48	15.8
Very Liberal	41	13.5
Residence		
Live at Home with Parents	135	44.6
Rent with Friends	50	16.5
Rent with Partner	34	11.2
Rent and Live Alone	23	7.6
Own and Live with Friends	7	2.3
Own and Live Alone	9	3
Own and Live with Kids	7	2.3
Have Children		
No	281	92.7
Employment		
Yes	185	61.1
Employment Status		
Full-Time	81	26.7
Part-Time	70	23.1
Temporary/Seasonal	20	6.6
Odd Jobs	13	4.3
Other/Not Applicable	119	39.3

Appendix E

Table 1: Characteristics of Non-Removers (N=12)

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Age*	17-25	9	75.0
	26-41	3	25.0
Race	Caucasian	3	25.0
	Black/African American	1	8.3
	Hispanic/Latina	3	25.0
	Asian American/Pacific Islander	1	8.3
	Arabic	4	33.3
Relationship Status*	Single	5	41.7
	Dating	5	41.7
	Cohabiting	2	16.7
Religious Affiliation	Catholic	5	41.7
	Orthodox	3	25.0
	Muslim	2	16.7
	Protestant	1	8.3
	Other	1	8.3
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	12	100.0
Political Beliefs*	Conservative	7	58.4
	Neutral	1	8.3
	Liberal	4	33.4
Residence*	Dorm at WSU	2	16.7
	Rent	4	33.3
	Live at home with parents	6	50.0
Employment Status	Full- Time	3	25.0
	Part-Time	4	33.3
	Temporary/Odd Jobs	3	25.0
	Unemployed/Not Working	2	16.7
Annual Individual Income	\$0,00- \$ 10,999	9	75.0
	\$ 11,000- \$ 20, 999	2	16.7
	\$ 21,000 or higher	1	8.3
Annual Family Income	\$ 11,000- \$ 20,999	4	33.3
	\$ 41,000- \$ 50,999	2	16.7
	\$ 51,000- \$ 60,999	1	8.3
	\$ 61,000- \$ 70,999	1	8.3
	\$ 71,000 or higher	4	33.3

*For original coding of variables see Appendix B questions 89-101

Appendix E

Table 2: Non-Removers' Attitudes towards Body Hair (N=12)

Variable*	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Having body hair is embarrassing	Disagree	3	25.0
	Agree	9	75.0
Having body hair is annoying	Disagree	4	33.3
	Agree	8	66.7
Having body hair is unnatural	Disagree	4	33.3
	Agree	8	66.7
Having body hair is unattractive	Disagree	5	41.7
	Agree	7	58.3
Having body hair is unclean	Disagree	5	41.7
	Agree	7	58.3
Having body hair is disgusting	Disagree	7	58.3
	Agree	5	41.7
Having body hair is unimportant	Disagree	7	58.3
	Agree	5	41.7
Having body hair is itchy	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0
Body hair removal increases body odor	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0
Having body hair is protective	Disagree	4	33.3
	Agree	8	66.7
Having body hair is clean	Disagree	5	41.7
	Agree	7	58.3
Having body hair is beautiful	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3
Having body hair is not a big deal	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3
I like the experience of having body hair	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3
Body hair is sexy	Disagree	9	75.0
	Agree	3	25.0
Having body hair is important	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3
Body hair is natural	Disagree	7	58.3
	Agree	5	41.7
Women should not have to remove their hair	Disagree	9	75.0
	Agree	3	25.0
My body is fine as is	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3
Having body hair is attractive	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0

* Variables were collapsed from 5 point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Don't Know, Agree, Strongly Agree) to Disagree/Agree

Appendix E

Table 2: Non-Removers' Attitudes towards Body Hair (N=12)

Cont.

Variable*	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Having body hair is youthful	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0
Body hair removal lessens/removes body odor	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0
My hair growth is naturally light	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0
I'm attracted to people with body hair	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0
My life is too busy	Disagree	6	50.0
	Agree	6	50.0
It's too time- consuming to remove my hair	Disagree	9	75.0
	Agree	3	25.0
Budget considerations- it's too expensive to remove my body hair	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3
I'm lazy	Disagree	7	58.3
	Agree	5	41.7
I'm not currently in a relationship	Disagree	4	33.3
	Agree	8	66.7
I have better sexual experiences when I have body hair	Disagree	5	41.7
	Agree	7	58.3
My partner asked me to keep my body hair	Disagree	7	58.3
	Agree	5	41.7
I only do it seasonally	Disagree	4	33.3
	Agree	8	66.7
I have sensitive skin	Disagree	5	41.7
	Agree	7	58.3
I have medical reasons	Disagree	7	58.3
	Agree	5	41.7
Sports activities require that I keep my hair	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3
I'm trying to make a political statement	Disagree	8	66.7
	Agree	4	33.3

* Variables were collapsed from 5 point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Don't Know, Agree, Strongly Agree) to Disagree/Agree

Appendix E

Table 3: Characteristics of Removers (N=291)

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Age*	17-25	226	77.7
	26-41	50	17.2
	42 years or older	15	5.2
Race*	Caucasian	89	30.6
	Black/African American	75	25.8
	Hispanic/Latina	57	19.6
	Asian American/Pacific Islander	30	10.3
	Arabic	31	10.7
	Other	9	3.1
Marital Status*	Single	117	40.2
	Dating	113	38.8
	Other	61	21.0
Religious Affiliation*	Catholic	85	29.2
	Protestant	43	14.8
	Muslim	45	15.5
	Orthodox	31	10.7
	Jewish	26	8.9
	Atheist	30	10.3
	Other	31	10.7
Sexual Orientation*	Heterosexual	279	95.9
	Other	12	4.1
Political Beliefs*	Conservative	147	50.5
	Neutral	59	20.3
	Liberal	85	29.2
Residence*	Dorm at WSU	36	12.4
	Rent	103	35.4
	Live at home with parents	129	44.3
	Own	23	7.9
Employment Status	Full- Time	78	26.8
	Part-Time	66	22.7
	Temporary/Odd Jobs	30	10.3
	Unemployed/Not Working	117	40.2
Annual Individual Income	\$ 0,00- \$ 10,999	209	71.8
	\$ 11,000- \$ 20,999	23	7.9
	\$ 21,000- \$ 30,999	10	3.4
	\$ 31,000- \$ 40,999	19	6.5
	\$ 41,000- \$ 50,999	15	5.2
	\$ 51,000- \$ 60,999	4	1.4
	\$ 61,000- \$ 70,999	4	1.4
	\$ 71,000 or higher	7	2.4
Annual Family Income	\$ 0,00- \$ 10,999	2	0.7
	\$ 11,000- \$ 20,999	45	15.5
	\$ 21,000- \$ 30,999	23	7.9
	\$ 31,000- \$ 40,999	34	11.7
	\$ 41,000- \$ 50,999	48	16.5
	\$ 51,000- \$ 60,999	14	4.8
	\$ 61,000- \$ 70,999	44	15.1
	\$ 71,000 or higher	81	27.8

*For original coding of variables see Appendix B questions 89-101

Appendix E

Table 4: Removers' Reports of Bodily Routines (N=291)

Bodily Routines	Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Hair	Visit professional hair stylist, in past year	No	95	32.6
		Yes	196	67.4
	Visit professional hair stylist- Past month, how often	Never	130	44.7
		One time	86	29.6
		Two times	45	15.5
		Three times	19	6.5
		Four times	10	3.4
		Five times or more	1	0.3
	Visit professional hair stylist- Wash/ Dry	No	137	47.1
		Yes	154	52.9
	Visit professional hair stylist- Cut/ Trim	No	142	48.8
		Yes	149	51.2
	Visit professional hair stylist- Color/ Highlights/ Lowlights	No	145	49.8
		Yes	139	47.7
		Missing**	7	2.5
	Visit professional hair stylist- Blown out/ Straighten/ Up-do	No	142	48.8
		Yes	149	51.2
	Visit professional hair stylist- Money spent on hair, last month*	Up to \$10.99	135	46.4
		\$11.00- \$ 20.99	17	5.8
		\$ 21.00- \$ 70.99	75	25.8
		\$ 71.00- \$ 101.00 or higher	64	21.9
Face	Wear Facial Makeup, in past year	No	64	22.0
		Yes	227	78.0
	Facial Makeup- Past month, how often	Never	80	27.5
		Once in a while	41	14.1
		Once or twice a week	48	16.5
		Three or four times a week	33	11.3
		Five or six times a week	59	20.3
		Everyday	30	10.3
	Facial Makeup- Money spent on makeup, last month*	Up to \$ 10.99	128	44.0
		\$ 11.00- \$ 20.99	20	6.9
		\$ 21.00- \$ 70.99	77	26.6
		\$ 71.00- \$ 101.00 or higher	66	22.6
Hands & Feet	Manicures to fingernails, in past year	No	104	35.7
		Yes	187	64.3
	Manicures- Past month, how often	Never	145	49.8
		One time	58	19.9
		Two times	43	14.8
		Three times	28	9.6
		Four times	15	5.2
		Everyday	2	0.7

* Variables were collapsed into quartiles. **Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 4: Removers' Reports of Bodily Routines (N=291)

Cont.

Bodily Routines	Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Hands & Feet	Manicures- Money spent on manicures, last month*	Up to \$ 10.99	126	43.3
		\$ 11.00- \$ 40.99	65	22.3
		\$ 41.00- \$ 50.99	28	9.6
		\$ 51.00- \$ 101.00 or higher	72	24.6
	Pedicures to toenails, in past year	No	79	27.1
		Yes	212	72.9
	Pedicures- Past month, how often	Never	196	67.4
		One time	67	23.0
		Two times	24	8.2
		Three times	4	1.4
	Pedicures- Money spent on pedicures, last month*	Up to \$ 10.99	115	39.5
\$ 11.00- \$ 20.99		36	12.4	
\$ 21.00- \$ 50.99		81	22.7	
\$ 51.00- \$ 80.99		59	20.3	
Skincare	Engaged in regular/daily skincare activities, in past year	No	34	11.7
		Yes	251	86.3
		Missing**	6	2.0
	Skincare- Money spent on skincare products, last month*	Up to \$ 20.99	82	28.1
\$ 21.00- \$ 40.99		67	23.1	
\$ 41.00- \$ 80.99		83	28.5	
\$ 81.00- \$ 101.00 or higher		59	20.4	
Weight Maintenance	Do you diet?	No	45	15.4
		Yes	176	60.5
		Sometimes	70	24.1
	Do you worry about your weight/body size?	No	39	13.4
		Yes	252	86.6
	Past month, how often did you think about your weight/body size	Never	51	17.5
		Once in a while	50	17.2
		Once or twice a week	58	19.9
		Three or four times a week	61	21.0
Five or six times a week		55	18.9	
Everyday		16	5.5	

* Variables were collapsed into quartiles. **Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 4: Removers' Reports of Bodily Routines (N=291)

Cont.

Bodily Routines	Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Clothing Routines	Wore sleeveless shirts, in past year	No	28	9.6
		Yes	263	90.4
	Sleeveless shirts- Past month, how often	Never	51	17.5
		Once in a while	72	24.7
		Once or twice a week	61	21.0
		Three or four times a week	55	18.9
		Five or six times a week	51	17.5
		Everyday	1	0.3
	Wore Skirts (Knee-length/Mini), in past year	No	178	61.2
		Yes	113	38.8
	Skirts- Past month, how often	Never	215	73.9
		Once in a while	33	11.3
		Once or twice a week	20	6.9
		Three or four times a week	17	5.8
		Five or six times a week	6	2.1
	Wore Shorts (Knee-length or shorter), in past year	No	98	33.7
		Yes	193	66.3
	Shorts- Summer months, how often	Never	117	40.2
		Once in a while	46	15.8
		Once or twice a week	47	16.2
		Three or four times a week	26	8.9
		Five or six times a week	46	15.8
		Everyday	9	3.1
	Wore Bathing Suits, in past year	No	36	12.4
		Yes	255	87.6
	Bathing Suits- Summer months, how often	Never	101	34.7
		Once in a while	89	30.6
		Once or twice a week	57	19.6
		Three or four times a week	21	7.2
		Five or six times a week	15	5.2
		Everyday	8	2.7
	Wore Open-Toed Shoes, in past year	No	17	5.8
		Yes	274	94.2
	Open- Toed Shoes- Past month, how often	Never	27	9.3
		Once in a while	44	15.1
		Once or twice a week	53	18.2
		Three or four times a week	42	14.4
		Five or six times a week	88	30.2
		Everyday	35	12.0
		Missing**	2	0.8

* Variables were collapsed into quartiles. **Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 5: Removers' Attitudes towards Body Hair and Hair Removal (N=291)

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
How do you feel about your body hair*	Negatively	179	61.5
	Positively	50	17.2
	Missing**	62	21.3
Having body hair is beautiful*	Disagree	175	60.1
	Agree	83	28.5
	Missing**	33	11.4
Having body hair is unattractive*	Disagree	112	38.5
	Agree	156	53.6
	Missing**	23	7.9
Having body hair is disgusting*	Disagree	118	40.5
	Agree	162	55.7
	Missing**	11	3.8
Having body hair is ugly*	Disagree	131	45.0
	Agree	132	45.4
	Missing**	28	9.6
Having body hair is annoying*	Disagree	108	37.1
	Agree	160	55.0
	Missing**	23	7.9
Having body hair is protective*	Disagree	163	56.0
	Agree	117	40.2
	Missing**	11	3.8
How important is your hygiene*	Not Important	4	1.4
	Important	277	95.2
	Missing**	10	3.4
It's important to me to appear clean*	Disagree	45	15.4
	Agree	246	84.6
I look cleaner without body hair*	Disagree	95	32.6
	Agree	185	63.6
	Missing**	11	3.8
How do you feel about removing your body hair*	Unnecessary	51	17.5
	Necessary	226	77.7
	Missing**	14	4.8
I like the experience of removing my body hair*	Disagree	128	44.0
	Agree	150	51.5
	Missing**	13	4.5
I remove my body hair because it make me feel feminine*	Disagree	125	43.0
	Agree	151	51.9
	Missing**	15	5.1
I remove my body hair because I am trying to avoid looking masculine*	Disagree	100	34.4
	Agree	171	58.8
	Missing**	20	6.8

* Variables were dichotomized to Disagree and Agree from 5 point Likert scale (e.g. Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree)

** Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 5: Removers' Attitudes towards Body Hair and Hair Removal (N=291)

Cont.

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
I feel sexier without body hair*	Disagree	129	44.3
	Agree	148	50.9
	Missing**	14	4.8
I feel more attractive when I remove my body hair	No	144	49.5
	Yes	109	37.5
	Missing**	38	13.0
I feel good about myself most of the time*	Disagree	85	29.2
	Agree	192	66.0
	Missing**	14	4.8
Others are thinking positively about my physical appearance	Disagree	116	39.9
	Agree	175	60.1
Overall self-confidence	Poor	5	1.7
	Fair	43	14.8
	Good	161	55.3
	Excellent	82	28.2
I feel that I am successful at becoming beautiful	No	79	27.1
	Yes	153	52.6
	Sometimes	59	20.3
Beauty can be achieved via hair removal	No	69	23.7
	Yes	205	70.4
	Missing**	17	5.9
Being hair-free changes how others perceive you	No	76	26.1
	Yes	154	52.9
	Sometimes	61	21.0
How do you feel about women who do not remove visible body hair*	Negatively	154	52.9
	Positively	79	27.1
	Missing**	58	20.0
I am attracted to other hair-free people	No	77	26.5
	Yes	145	49.8
	Sometimes	69	23.7
I prefer hair-free sexual partners*	Disagree	100	34.4
	Agree	155	53.3
	Missing**	36	12.3
Hair removal is more important for women than men	No	89	30.6
	Yes	202	69.4
Men prefer hair-free women*	Disagree	114	39.2
	Agree	165	56.7
	Missing**	12	4.1

* Variables were dichotomized to Disagree and Agree from 5 point Likert scale (e.g. Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree)

** Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 6: Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Rewards/Consequences (N=291)

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
I go out socializing without removing my body hair	No	221	75.9
	Yes	64	21.9
	Missing**	6	2.2
Hair-free women are more likely to get dates	No	75	25.7
	Yes	204	70.1
	Missing**	12	4.2
Would you go to work without removing my body hair	No	196	67.4
	Yes	87	29.9
	Missing**	8	2.7
Hair-free women are more likely to get jobs	No	82	28.2
	Yes	190	65.3
	Missing**	19	6.5
I receive more professional credibility when I remove my body hair*	Disagree	104	35.7
	Agree	163	56.0
	Missing**	24	8.3
My hair removal is a job requirement*	Disagree	126	43.3
	Agree	110	37.8
	Missing**	55	18.9
It is important to me that others notice my hair-free body	No	64	22.0
	Yes	183	62.9
	Sometimes	36	12.4
	Missing**	8	2.7
I have benefitted because of my physical appearance	No	95	32.6
	Yes	196	67.4
I receive social approval when I remove my body hair*	Disagree	127	43.6
	Agree	108	37.1
	Missing**	56	19.3
Body hair removal has affected my life positively	No	112	38.5
	Yes	126	43.3
	Missing**	53	18.2
Others notice my body hair when its not removed	No	146	50.2
	Yes	109	37.5
	Missing**	36	12.3
Body hair is embarrassing*	Disagree	121	41.6
	Agree	155	53.3
	Missing**	15	5.1
Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair	No	124	42.6
	Yes	148	50.9
	Missing**	19	6.5

* Variables were collapsed from 5 point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree) to Disagree/Agree

** Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 6: Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Rewards/Consequences (N=291)

Cont.

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
I hide my hair removal	No	131	45.0
	Yes	160	55.0
There is family pressure to remove my body hair*	Disagree	129	44.3
	Agree	138	47.4
	Missing**	24	8.3
My partner/significant other wants me to remove my body hair*	Disagree	109	37.5
	Agree	150	51.5
	Missing**	32	11.0
My male friends want me to remove my body hair*	Disagree	113	38.8
	Agree	149	51.2
	Missing**	29	10.0
My female friends want me to remove my body hair*	Disagree	126	43.3
	Agree	147	50.5
	Missing**	18	6.2
I remove my body hair to avoid teasing or negative attention*	Disagree	129	44.3
	Agree	117	40.2
	Missing**	45	15.5

* Variables were collapsed from 5 point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree) to Disagree/Agree

** Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 7: Removers' Socialization to Hairlessness Norms (N=291)

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Why did you start removing your body hair	Overheard someone talking	1	0.3
	Talked to someone about my hair	33	11.3
	Observed others that removed hair	46	15.8
	Observed someone I know remove hair	41	14.1
	Family members influenced me	65	22.3
	Media influenced me	27	9.3
	Negative feedback from others about my hair	67	23.0
	Other reasons not listed	11	3.8
Talked to someone about my body hair	No	126	43.3
	Yes	152	52.2
	Missing**	13	4.5
Talked to someone about body hair removal	No	126	43.3
	Yes	156	53.6
	Missing**	9	3.1
Socialization- Mother	No	72	24.7
	Yes	219	75.3
Socialization- Friends	No	113	38.8
	Yes	178	61.2
Socialization- Myself	No	97	33.3
	Yes	194	66.7
Have you ever stopped removing your body hair?	No	233	80.1
	Yes	58	19.9

** Narrative reports exclude "Missing Data"

Appendix E

Table 8: Areas of Body Hair Removal (N=291)

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Face/Hairline	No	255	87.6
	Yes	36	12.4
Face/Forehead	No	270	92.8
	Yes	21	7.2
Face/Eyebrows	No	19	6.5
	Yes	272	93.5
Face/Upper Lip	No	43	14.8
	Yes	248	85.2
Face/Chin	No	112	38.5
	Yes	179	61.5
Face/Other	No	279	95.9
	Yes	12	4.1
Face/Ears	No	275	94.5
	Yes	16	5.5
Face/Nose	No	271	93.1
	Yes	20	6.9
Upper Body/Neck	No	276	94.8
	Yes	15	5.2
Upper Body/Shoulders	No	282	96.9
	Yes	9	3.1
Upper Body/Chest	No	265	91.1
	Yes	26	8.9
Upper Body/Nipples	No	255	87.6
	Yes	36	12.4
Upper Body/Back, Upper	No	271	93.1
	Yes	20	6.9
Upper Body/Arms	No	144	49.5
	Yes	147	50.5
Upper Body/Underarms	No	25	8.6
	Yes	266	91.4
Upper Body/Hands, Fingers	No	255	87.6
	Yes	36	12.4
Mid Section/Stomach	No	246	84.5
	Yes	45	15.5
Mid Section/Back, Lower	No	264	90.7
	Yes	27	9.3
Lower Body/Bikini Line	No	146	50.2
	Yes	145	49.8
Lower Body/More than Bikini	No	196	67.4
	Yes	95	32.6
Lower Body/Pubic Strip, Patch, Triangle	No	205	70.4
	Yes	86	29.6
Lower Body/Entire Pubic Area	No	222	76.3
	Yes	69	23.7
Lower Body/Legs	No	38	13.1
	Yes	253	86.9
Lower Body/Feet, Toes	No	248	85.2
	Yes	43	14.8

Appendix E

Table 9: Methods of Body Hair Removal (N=291)

Variable	Category	Number of Women	Percent
Shaving, Regular Razor	No	36	12.4
	Yes	255	87.6
Electric Razor	No	244	83.8
	Yes	47	16.2
Electric Clippers	No	242	83.2
	Yes	49	16.8
Hair Removal Creams	No	259	89.0
	Yes	32	11.0
Home Waxing (hot and cold)	No	248	85.2
	Yes	43	14.8
Salon Waxing	No	198	68.0
	Yes	93	32.0
Sugaring	No	247	84.9
	Yes	44	15.1
Threading	No	245	84.2
	Yes	46	15.8
Tweezing/Plucking	No	79	27.1
	Yes	212	72.9
Trimming	No	157	54.0
	Yes	134	46.0
Laser Hair Removal	No	268	92.1
	Yes	23	7.9
Electrolysis	No	264	90.7
	Yes	27	9.3

Appendix F
Table 1: Mean Differences between Social Background Characteristics and Public/Private Depilation

Independent Variables	Category	Number of Public/Visible Body Areas Depilated					Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated				
		Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df
Relationship Status	Single Dating	5.48	1.617	1.147	0.252	266	2.63	1.906	1.55	0.123	218.742
		5.26	1.427				2.3	1.531			
Race	White	5.43	1.492	-0.691	0.49	289	2.44	1.828	-0.275	0.784	152.469
	Women of Color	5.29	1.551				2.38	1.632			
	Black	5.25	1.875	0.456	0.65	103.961	2.55	1.773	-0.9	0.369	289
	Other	5.36	1.397				2.34	1.663			
	Hispanic	5.4	0.997	-0.513	0.609	139.211	2.3	1.463	0.482	0.63	289
	Other	5.32	1.637				2.42	1.744			
Religion	Arabic	5.1	1.535	0.909	0.364	289	2.19	1.4	0.702	0.483	289
	Other	5.36	1.532				2.42	1.723			
	Protestant	5.53	1.42	-0.934	0.351	289	2.51	1.919	-0.439	0.662	53.332
	Other	5.3	1.551				2.38	1.652			
	Muslim	5.11	1.385	1.059	0.291	289	2.16	1.364	1.034	0.302	289
	Other	5.37	1.557				2.44	1.743			
Political Beliefs	Catholic	5.41	1.692	-0.56	0.576	289	2.18	1.62	1.42	0.157	289
	Other	5.3	1.464				2.49	1.716			
	Conservative	5.3	1.514	-0.382	0.703	289	2.33	1.729	-0.699	0.485	289
	Liberal	5.37	1.554				2.47	1.655			
Employment Status	Unemployed	5.26	1.463	-0.702	0.483	289	2.29	1.624	-0.865	0.388	289
	Employed	5.39	1.579				2.47	1.736			
	Full-time	5.41	1.663	-0.518	0.605	289	2.44	1.784	-0.248	0.804	289
	Other	5.31	1.484				2.38	1.66			
	Part-time	5.52	1.571	-1.097	0.274	289	2.55	1.773	-0.82	0.413	289
	Other	5.28	1.52				2.35	1.668			
Individual Income	\$10,999 or less	5.26	1.523	1.249	0.213	289	2.52	1.721	-2.125	.035*	160.683
	\$11,000 or above	5.51	1.55				2.07	1.577			
Family Income	\$40,999 or less	5.08	1.653	-2.142	.033*	289	2.38	1.747	-0.152	0.88	289
	\$41,000 or above	5.48	1.446				2.41	1.664			
Age	25 years or younger	5.40	1.561	1.349	0.178	289	2.49	1.749	2.02	.045*	123.971
	26 years or older	5.11	1.416				2.06	1.435			

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix F

Table 2: Mean Differences between Attitudes towards Beauty/Body Hair and Public/Private Depilation

		Number of Public/ Visible Body Areas Depilated					Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated				
Independent Variables	Category	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df
Remove body hair because it makes me feel feminine	Agree	5.43	1.527	1.021	0.308	289	2.35	1.666	-0.438	0.662	289
	Disagree	5.25	1.536				2.44	1.719			
Remove body hair to avoid looking masculine	Agree	5.19	1.519	-1.323	0.187	289	2.64	1.733	2.095	0.037*	289
	Disagree	5.43	1.538				2.22	1.644			
Having body hair is unattractive	Agree	5.21	1.772	-1.201	0.231	240.755	2.64	1.687	2.286	0.023*	289
	Disagree	5.44	1.286				2.19	1.673			
I worry about my weight/body size	No	5.18	1.502	-0.673	0.501	289	1.90	1.429	-2.271	0.027*	56.475
	Yes	5.36	1.538				2.47	1.718			
Do you diet?	No	4.69	1.819	-2.685	0.009**	58.374	2.69	1.769	1.425	0.156	219
	Yes	5.47	1.418				2.29	1.653			
Importance of have a thin body	Not Important	5.18	1.508	-1.689	0.092	289	2.26	1.745	-1.382	0.168	289
	Important	5.48	1.545				2.53	1.631			
Importance of physical health	Not Important	5.44	1.014	0.221	0.826	289	3.00	1.500	1.090	0.277	289
	Important	5.33	1.547				2.38	1.696			
Importance of physical appearance	Not Important	5.16	1.488	-1.520	0.13	271	2.25	1.557	-0.864	0.388	271
	Important	5.44	1.527				2.43	1.752			
Importance of your hygiene	Not Important	5.64	0.842	1.334	0.199	17.86	2.00	0.961	-1.500	0.151	17.52
	Important	5.32	1.558				2.42	1.719			
I remove body hair to look cleaner	Disagree	5.98	1.685	3.115	.002**	289	2.33	1.771	-0.266	0.790	289
	Agree	5.22	1.476				2.41	1.680			

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Appendix F

Table 2: Mean Differences between Attitudes towards Beauty/Body Hair and Public/Private Depilation

Cont.

		Number of Public/ Visible Body Areas Depilated						Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated				
Having body hair is unclean	Disagree	5.13	1.714	-1.984	.048*	235.44	2.54	1.642	1.316	0.189	289	
	Agree	5.49	1.359				2.28	1.725				
Do you hide hair removal practices from others	No	5.10	1.691	-2.328	.021*	247.9	2.36	1.785	-0.332	0.740	289	
	Yes	5.53	1.364				2.43	1.616				
In general, how do you feel about your body hair?	Negative	5.48	1.396	1.620	0.107	227	2.27	1.652	-1.017	0.310	227	
	Positive	5.10	1.705				2.54	1.581				
In general, how do you feel about body hair removal?	Unnecessary	5.05	1.658	-2.501	.013*	275	2.54	1.803	1.180	0.239	275	
	Necessary	5.51	1.421				2.29	1.607				
Haingv body hair is disgusting	Disagree	5.05	1.672	-2.823	.005**	246.1	2.67	1.724	2.537	.012*	289	
	Agree	5.56	1.374				2.17	1.636				
Having body hair is annoying	Disagree	4.95	1.588	-3.913	.000***	289	2.69	1.669	2.692	.008**	289	
	Agree	5.64	1.416				2.16	1.677				
Having body hair is unnatural	Disagree	5.16	1.633	-1.976	.049*	289	2.58	1.732	1.947	0.052	289	
	Agree	5.52	1.395				2.19	1.628				

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Appendix F

Table 3: Mean Differences Between Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Rewards and Public/Private Depilation

Independent Variables		Number of Public/Visible Body Areas Depilated					Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated				
	Category	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df
Do you think others notice body hair when its not removed?	Yes	5.31	1.804	0.194	0.847	187.66	2.72	1.801	-2.547	.012*	208.27
	No	5.35	1.376				2.18	1.572			
Do most of your friends remove their body hair?	Yes	5.23	1.732	0.948	0.344	235.73	2.66	1.811	-2.381	.018*	251.69
	No	5.41	1.355				2.18	1.564			
Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?	Yes	4.86	1.943	2.339	.022*	81.49	2.63	1.759	-1.272	0.205	283
	No	5.47	1.353				2.32	1.66			
Would you go to work without removing your body hair?	Yes	5.31	1.943	0.16	0.873	121.99	2.61	1.807	-1.384	0.168	281
	No	5.35	1.31				2.31	1.651			
Do you think removing body hair has ever affected your life in a positive way?	Yes	5.36	1.632	-0.887	0.376	236	2.52	1.77	-1.098	0.273	236
	No	5.18	1.453				2.29	1.551			

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

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Table 4: Mean Differences between Knowledge of Social Consequences and Public/Private Depilation

		Number of Public/ Visible Body Areas Depilated						Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated					
		Category	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	
I remove my body hair because there is family pressure to remove my body hair	Agree		5.38	1.452	-0.536	0.593	289	2.21	1.744	1.779	0.076	289	
	Disagree		5.29	1.605				2.56	1.63				
I remove my body hair because body hair increases body odor	Agree		5.33	1.678	0.055	0.956	289	2.23	1.816	1.145	0.253	289	
	Disagree		5.34	1.464				2.47	1.629				
Having body hair is ugly	Agree		5.45	1.474	-1.154	0.25	289	2.29	1.737	0.986	0.325	289	
	Disagree		5.24	1.577				2.48	1.653				
I remove my body hair because I want to avoid teasing/attracting negative attention	Agree		5.13	1.72	1.803	0.073	211.57	2.46	1.659	-0.548	0.584	289	
	Disagree		5.47	1.38				2.35	1.716				
Have you ever been embarrassed because of my body hair?	No		5.03	1.379	-2.781	.006**	270	2.31	1.615	-0.514	0.607	270	
	Yes		5.54	1.597				2.42	1.71				

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Appendix F

Table 5: Mean Differences between Socialization to Hairlessness Norms and Public/Private Depilation

			Number of Public/ Visible Body Areas Depilated					Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated				
Independent Variables	Category	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	
Mother	No	4.99	1.925	-1.884	0.063	95.57	2.38	1.803	-0.117	0.907	289	
	Yes	5.45	1.365				2.40	1.657				
Father	No	5.33	1.527	-0.241	0.810	289	2.42	1.683	0.746	0.456	289	
	Yes	5.41	1.623				2.14	1.807				
Myself	No	5.55	1.594	1.683	0.093	289	2.39	1.817	-0.024	0.980	289	
	Yes	5.23	1.493				2.40	1.629				
Sister	No	5.34	1.553	0.027	0.978	289	2.38	1.697	-0.196	0.845	289	
	Yes	5.33	1.498				2.42	1.688				
Brother	No	5.29	1.574	-1.953	0.057	47.08	2.34	1.649	-1.548	0.123	289	
	Yes	5.71	1.071				2.84	1.985				
Aunt	No	5.16	1.507	-3.593	.000***	289	2.41	1.669	0.306	0.76	289	
	Yes	5.92	1.482				2.34	1.779				
Uncle	No	5.29	1.532	-1.329	0.185	289	2.36	1.703	-1.089	0.277	289	
	Yes	5.67	1.514				2.70	1.591				
Grandmother	No	5.21	1.493	-3.958	.000***	289	2.37	1.674	-0.760	0.448	289	
	Yes	6.30	1.510				2.61	1.836				
Grandfather	No	5.31	1.551	-1.033	0.302	289	2.38	1.678	-0.780	0.436	289	
	Yes	5.71	1.16				2.71	1.929				
Teacher	No	5.25	1.522	-3.309	.001**	289	2.37	1.664	-1.032	0.303	289	
	Yes	6.38	1.284				2.76	2.022				

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Appendix F
Table 5: Mean Differences between Socialization to Hairlessness Norms and Public/Private Depilation

Cont.

		Number of Public/ Visible Body Areas Depilated					Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated				
Friends (female)	No	4.87	1.645	-4.255	.000***	289	2.42	1.646	0.237	0.813	289
	Yes	5.63	1.381				2.38	1.724			
Niece	No	5.30	1.569	-1.118	0.264	289	2.43	1.689	1.128	0.260	289
	Yes	5.65	1.056				2.04	1.708			
Nephew	No	5.28	1.565	-2.289	.027*	43.05	2.41	1.707	0.553	0.581	289
	Yes	5.80	1.126				2.23	1.569			
Cousins (female)	No	5.28	1.523	-1.635	0.103	289	2.35	1.676	-1.259	0.209	289
	Yes	5.75	1.566				2.75	1.796			
TV	No	5.30	1.572	-0.512	0.609	289	2.39	1.639	-0.154	0.878	289
	Yes	5.41	1.430				2.42	1.829			
Magazines	No	5.25	1.467	-1.715	0.087	289	2.32	1.584	-1.139	0.258	96.18
	Yes	5.61	1.708				2.62	1.993			
Internet	No	5.21	1.490	-2.534	.012*	289	2.39	1.691	-0.109	0.913	289
	Yes	5.75	1.611				2.42	1.704			

*** p<.001, ** p<.01, * p<.05

Appendix F

Table 6- Correlations Among Attitudinal Variables and Public/Private Depilation

Attitudinal Variables	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
A. It makes me feel feminine	1																	
B. I am trying to avoid looking masculine	-0.036	1																
C. Having body is unattractive	-0.046	0.097	1															
D. Worry about weight	-0.007	0.011	-0.116**	1														
E. Do you diet	0	-0.012	.164*	.193**	1													
F. Important that body be thin	-.175***	-0.03	-0.069	.173**	.244**	1												
G. Importance of physical health	-.160***	0.098	0.085	0.08	0.121	0.08	1											
H. Importance of physical appearance	0.056	-0.024	-0.003	0.122	-0.032	0.035	-0.041	1										
I. Importance of hygiene	0.025	-0.111	-0.012	-0.061	0.036	0.059	0.102	.146*	1									
J. Look cleaner without body hair	.371**	.275**	0.037	0.011	.144*	0.003	0.016	.143*	-0.021	1								
K. Having body hair is unclean	0.03	0.096	0.079	-0.021	0.051	-0.032	0.076	-0.111	0.007	0.037	1							
L. Hide hair removal practices	-0.018	0.079	.146*	-0.092	0.104	-0.092	0.051	-0.026	-0.068	0.064	.133*	1						
M. How do you feel about removing body hair	0.011	-0.112	-0.114	0.087	-0.170**	0.088	-0.11	0.098	0.007	-0.072	-0.018	-0.132**	1					
N. How do you feel about removing body hair	0.015	0.089	0.059	-0.032	0.066	-0.111	.172*	-0.123	-0.025	0.102	.254**	.194**	0.017	1				
O. Having body hair is disgusting	.122*	0.025	.331**	-0.095	.229**	-.166***	0.022	-0.006	-0.003	.139*	.118*	.202**	-.212***	.226**	1			
P. Having body hair is annoying	0.033	0.089	.451**	0.004	.288**	-0.11	-0.037	0.009	-0.11	0.114	0.094	.190**	-.306***	.172*	0.466**	1		
Q. Having body hair is unnatural	0.072	0.072	.314**	0.036	.142*	-0.042	-0.013	0.019	-0.068	.165**	.115*	0.102	-0.124	0.075	0.282**	.414**	1	
R. Depilation from public/visible body areas	-0.04	0.057	0.092	0.04	.206**	0.029	-.148**	0.11	-0.147**	0.035	.161**	.139*	-.134**	.224**	.208**	.244**	.123*	1
S. Depilation from private/hidden body area	-0.05	-0.115	-.177***	.116*	-0.096	0.066	-0.108	0.049	0.005	-0.075	-0.048	0.02	0.091	0	-.131**	-.156**	-.157**	.319**

** Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Appendix F

Table 7: Correlations between Knowledge/Experiences with Social Rewards and Social Consequences and Public/Private Depilation

Social Rewards						
	A	B	C	D	E	F
A. Do you think others notice your body hair when its not removed?	1					
B. Do most of your friends remove their body hair?	.270**	1				
C. Would you go socialization without removing your body hair?	.195**	.235**	1			
D. Would you go to work without removing your body hair?	.355**	.234**	.309**	1		
E. Do you think body hair removal has ever affected your life in a positive way?	.353**	.237**	0.100	.291**	1	
F. Depilation from public/visible body areas	-0.014	-0.071	.166**	-0.011	0.058	1
G. Depilation from private/hidden body areas	.155*	.163*	0.075	0.082	0.071	.319**
Social Consequences						
	H	I	J	K	L	M
H. Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body?	1					
I. Body hair is ugly	0.032	1				
J. I remove body hair because there is family pressure for me to remove my body hair	-0.021	.428**	1			
K. I remove body hair because I want to avoid teasin	-0.004	.145*	.391**	1		
L. I remove because body hair increases body odor	0.086	.392**	.475**	.284**	1	
M. Depilation from public/visible body areas	.167**	0.097	0.026	-0.098	0.029	1
N. Depilation from private/hidden body areas	0.031	-0.066	-0.120	0.028	-0.049	.319**

** Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Appendix F
Table 8. Correlations Between Socialization to Hairlessness Norms and Public/Private Depilation

Socialization Variables		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
"Who taught you body hair removal practices?":		1																	
A. Mother		1																	
B. Father		0.043	1																
C. Myself		-0.084	-0.018	1															
D. Sister		0.101	-0.092	-0.119*	1														
E. Brother		.121*	0.112	.126*	0.016	1													
F. Aunt		.135*	0.034	-0.006	0.058	.216**	1												
G. Uncle		.155**	-0.061	-0.069	0.046	0.087	0.068	1											
H. Grandmother		0.054	0.062	-.161**	0.046	.122*	.199**	.146*	1										
I. Grandfather		0.041	-0.016	-0.01	0.073	.151**	0.077	0.05	0.003	1									
J. Teacher		0.098	0.021	-0.056	-0.028	.162**	.233**	.152**	.193**	-0.013	1								
K. Friends- female		.409**	0.014	-0.115	-0.08	.115*	.224**	0.085	0.063	0.048	0.059	1							
L. Niece		.180**	.138*	-0.095	-.170**	-0.069	0.006	-0.036	-0.036	-0.027	0.099	.151*	1						
M. Nephew		.142*	.373**	-0.024	-0.096	.139*	0.035	0.057	0.057	-0.036	.124*	0.085	0.132	1					
N. Cousins		0.100	-0.017	0.109	0.101	.128*	0.075	0.013	0.013	.287**	-0.013	0.055	0.005	0.025	1				
O. TV		0.036	0.054	.130*	0.033	.183**	-0.02	-0.004	-0.029	-0.024	-0.055	-0.009	0.047	0.092	0.076	1			
P. Magazines		0.039	0.085	0.103	-0.103	.357**	.477**	0.055	0.055	0.102	0.032	0.046	-0.033	-0.003	0.088	0.104	1		
Q. Internet		0.002	0.003	-0.076	0.076	0.109	.465**	.355**	.146*	0.007	.201**	0.038	-0.11	0.062	0.022	0.09	0.089	1	
R. Depilation from public/visible body areas		.130*	0.014	-0.039	-0.002	0.085	.207**	0.078	.227**	0.061	.191**	.243**	0.066	0.103	0.096	0.03	0.100	.147*	1
S. Depilation from private/hidden body areas		0.007	-0.044	0.001	0.012	0.091	-0.018	0.064	0.045	0.046	0.061	-0.014	-0.066	-0.033	0.074	0.009	0.075	0.006	.319**

** Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Appendix G
Table 1: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Attitudes towards Beauty/Body Hair

Dependent Variables	N	Race												Religion						Total (%)										
		White				Black				Hispanic				Arabic				Protestant				Muslim				Catholic				
		(%)	Other (%)	X ²	(%)	Other (%)	X ²	(%)	Other (%)	X ²	(%)	Other (%)	X ²	(%)	Other (%)	X ²	(%)	Other (%)	X ²		(%)	Other (%)	X ²	(%)	Other (%)	X ²	(%)	Other (%)	X ²	
How important to you is your physical appearance?																														
Not Important	102	37.8	37.2	0.010	27.4	41	4.228*	49.1	34.5	3.843*	51.7	35.7	2.860	32.5	38.2	0.474	41.5	36.6	0.347	33.3	39.1	0.799								
Important	171	62.2	62.8		72.6	59		50.9	65.5		48.3	64.3		67.5	61.8		58.5	63.4		66.7	60.9									
Having body hair is unattractive																														
Disagree	135	37.1	50.5	4.471*	49.3	45.4	0.352	49.1	45.7	0.213	48.4	46.2	0.056	34.9	48.4	2.687	42.2	47.2	0.372	43.5	47.6	0.396								
Agree	156	62.9	49.5		50.7	54.6		50.9	54.3		51.6	53.8		65.1	51.6		57.8	52.8		56.5	52.4									
Remove body hair because it makes me feel feminine																														
Disagree	140	52.8	46	1.134	50.7	47.2	0.265	42.1	49.6	1.024	41.9	48.8	0.53	53.5	47.2	0.585	55.6	46.7	1.182	42.4	50.5	1.594								
Agree	151	47.2	54		49.3	52.8		57.9	50.4		58.1	51.2		46.5	52.8		44.4	53.3		57.6	49.5									
Remove body hair to avoid looking masculine																														
Disagree	120	48.3	38.1	2.650	46.7	39.4	1.229	36.8	42.3	0.565	38.7	41.5	0.091	48.8	39.9	1.203	28.9	43.5	3.350	36.5	43.2	1.126								
Agree	171	51.7	61.9		53.3	60.6		63.2	57.7		61.3	58.5		51.2	60.1		71.1	56.5		63.5	56.8									
How important to you is your physical health?																														
Not Important	9	3.4	3	0.033	1.3	3.7	1.044	7	2.1	3.643	3.2	3.1	0.002	9.3	2	6.491*	2.2	3.3	0.135	2.4	3.4	0.219								
Important	282	96.6	97		98.7	96.3		93	97.9		96.8	96.9		90.7	98		97.8	96.7		97.6	96.6									
Do you worry about weight/body size?																														
No	39	11.2	14.4	0.518	12	13.9	0.171	15.8	12.8	0.348	12.9	13.5	0.007	7	14.5	1.795	6.7	14.6	2.081	16.5	12.1	0.974								
Yes	252	88.8	85.6		88	86.1		84.2	87.2		87.1	86.5		93	85.5		93.3	85.4		83.5	87.9									
Do you diet?																														
No	45	19.7	20.6	0.026	33.3	16.2	7.415**	15.2	21.7	0.948	8.3	21.8	2.402	10.3	21.9	2.066	12.8	22	1.661	24.6	18.6	1.027								
Yes	176	80.3	79.4		66.7	83.8		84.8	78.3		91.7	78.2		89.7	78.1		87.2	78		75.4	81.4									
How important to you is it that your body be thin?																														
Not Important	97	31.6	43.5	3.080	42.6	38.6	0.329	40	39.7	0.001	45.8	39.1	0.411	30	41.7	1.901	36.1	40.4	0.234	42.4	38.8	0.269								
Important	147	68.4	56.5		57.4	61.4		60	60.3		54.2	60.9		70	58.3		63.9	59.6		57.6	61.2									

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G

Table 1: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Attitudes towards Beauty/Body Hair
Cont.

Dependent Variables	N	Individual Income		Family Income		Employment Status		Full-time Employment		Other Employment		Total (%)
		\$10,999 or below (%)	\$11,000 or above (%)	\$40,999 or below (%)	\$41,000 or above (%)	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	Full-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Other (%)	
How important to you is your physical appearance?												
Not Important	102	39.7	31.6	43.9	33.7	35.5	40.2	41.7	35.8	32.3	38.9	34.7
	171	60.3	68.4	56.1	66.3	64.5	59.8	58.3	64.2	67.7	61.1	62.6
Having body hair is unattractive												
Disagree	135	48.3	41.5	45.2	47.1	44.8	48.7	52.6	44.1	37.9	48.9	46.4
	156	51.7	58.5	54.8	52.9	55.2	51.3	47.4	55.9	62.1	51.1	53.6
Remove body hair because it makes												
Disagree	140	49.8	43.9	51	46.5	44.3	53.8	43.6	49.8	43.9	49.3	48.1
	151	50.2	56.1	49	53.5	55.7	48.2	56.4	50.2	56.1	50.7	51.9
Remove body hair to avoid looking masculine												
Disagree	120	36.4	53.7	36.5	43.9	43.7	37.6	42.3	40.8	47	39.6	41.2
	171	63.6	46.3	63.5	56.1	56.3	62.4	57.7	59.2	53	60.4	58.8
How important to you is your physical health?												
Not Important	9	2.9	3.7	1.9	3.7	3.4	2.6	2.6	3.3	6.1	2.2	3.1
	282	97.1	96.3	98.1	96.3	96.6	97.4	97.4	96.7	93.9	97.8	96.9
Do you worry about weight/body size?												
No	39	16.3	6.1	11.5	14.4	11.5	16.2	7.7	15.5	15.2	12.9	13.4
	252	83.7	93.9	88.5	85.6	88.5	83.8	92.3	84.5	84.8	87.1	86.6
Do you diet?												
No	45	23.5	11.9	24.7	17.9	20.1	20.7	16.1	22	22.9	19.7	20.4
	176	76.5	88.1	75.3	82.1	79.9	79.3	83.9	78	77.1	80.3	79.6
How important to you is it that your body be thin?												
Not Important	97	41.9	34.7	40	39.6	34.5	47.5	26.2	44.3	37.9	40.3	39.8
	147	58.1	65.3	60	60.4	65.5	52.5	73.8	55.7	62.1	59.7	60.2

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G

Table 1: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Attitudes towards Beauty/Body Hair
Cont.

		Age		Political Beliefs			Relationship Status						
Dependent Variables	N	25 yrs or under (%)	26 yrs or older (%)	χ^2	Liberal (%)	Conservative (%)	χ^2	Total (%)	N	Single (%)	Dating (%)	χ^2	Total (%)
How important to you is your physical appearance?													
Not Important	102	40.8	25.8	4.578*	39.6	35.3	0.539	34.7	96	34.8	40.4	0.833	37.9
Important	171	59.2	74.2		60.4	64.7	62.6	157	65.2	59.6			62.1
Having body hair is unattractive													
Disagree	135	45.1	50.8	0.645	47.9	44.9	0.267	46.4	122	43.6	47	0.313	45.5
Agree	156	54.9	49.2		52.1	55.1		53.6	146	56.4	53		54.5
Remove body hair because it makes													
Disagree	140	47.3	50.8	0.237	46.5	49.7	0.286	48.1	127	45.3	49	0.363	47.4
Agree	151	52.7	49.2		53.5	50.3		51.9	141	54.7	51		52.6
Remove body hair to avoid looking masculine													
Disagree	120	38.5	50.8	3.138	44.4	38.1	1.210	41.2	112	45.3	39.1	1.051	41.8
Agree	171	61.5	49.2		55.6	61.9		58.8	156	54.7	60.9		58.2
How important to you is your physical health?													
Not Important	9	3.5	1.5	0.675	3.5	2.7	0.137	3.1	9	1.7	4.6	1.739	3.4
Important	282	96.5	98.5		96.5	97.3		96.9	259	98.3	95.4		96.6
Do you worry about weight/body size?													
No	39	12.4	16.9	0.894	10.4	16.3	2.189	13.4	35	12	13.9	0.219	13.1
Yes	252	87.6	83.1		89.6	83.7		86.6	233	88	86.1		86.9
Do you diet?													
No	45	22.2	14	1.613	25.7	15.8	3.321	20.4	40	16.9	22.1	0.871	19.8
Yes	176	77.8	86		74.3	84.2		79.6	162	83.1	77.9		80.2
How important to you is it that your body be thin?													
Not Important	97	40.3	37.7	0.115	39.8	39.7	0.001	39.8	89	44.4	35.4	1.892	39.4
Important	147	59.7	62.3		60.2	60.3		60.2	137	55.6	64.6		60.6

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G

Table 2: Mean Differences between Background Characteristics and Reports of Beauty and Clothing Routines

		Beauty Routines					Clothing Routines				
Independent Variables	Category	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df
Age	25 years or younger	3.65	1.083	1.198	0.232	289	3.74	0.922	1.008	0.314	289
	26 years or older	3.83	1.140				3.88	1.008			
Race	White	3.74	1.017	-0.56	0.576	289	3.81	0.877	-0.430	0.668	289
	Women of Color	3.66	1.131				3.76	0.970			
	Black	3.56	1.154	1.168	0.244	289	3.85	0.865	-0.903	0.368	142.857
	Other	3.73	1.074				3.75	0.967			
	Hispanic	3.47	1.136	1.645	0.101	289	3.53	1.037	2.223	.027*	289
	Other	3.74	1.083				3.83	0.909			
Relationship Status	Arabic	4.03	0.983	-1.861	0.064	289	3.90	0.978	-0.813	0.417	289
	Other	3.65	1.104				3.76	0.938			
	Single	3.57	1.177	-1.09	0.277	230.195	3.81	0.870	0.265	0.791	266
	Dating	3.72	1.021				3.78	0.979			
	Protestant	3.60	1.094	0.535	0.593	289	3.98	0.988	-1.539	0.125	289
	Other	3.70	1.098				3.74	0.931			
Religion	Muslim	3.98	0.988	-2.103	.039*	65.955	3.80	0.968	-0.207	0.836	289
	Other	3.63	1.109				3.77	0.939			
	Catholic	3.58	1.138	1.108	0.269	289	3.72	0.983	0.646	0.519	289
	Other	3.73	1.078				3.80	0.925			
	Conservative	3.61	1.095	-1.288	0.199	289	3.74	0.944	-0.580	0.563	289
	Liberal	3.770	1.095				3.81	0.941			
Employment Status	Unemployed	3.56	1.141	-1.686	0.093	289	3.66	0.966	-1.716	0.087	289
	Employed	3.78	1.060				3.85	0.919			
	Full-time	3.81	1.140	-1.134	0.258	289	3.87	1.024	-1.081	0.280	289
	Other	3.64	1.079				3.74	0.909			
	Part-time	3.61	1.036	0.684	0.495	289	3.92	0.829	-1.618	0.108	121.964
	Other	3.71	1.114				3.73	0.969			
Individual Income	\$10,999 or less	3.61	1.122	2.085	.039*	164.089	3.76	0.927	0.497	0.619	289
	\$11,000 or above	3.89	1.006				3.82	0.983			
Family Income	\$40,999 or less	3.79	1.040	1.175	0.241	289	3.75	0.867	-0.313	0.755	289
		\$41,000 or above	3.63				1.125	3.790			

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G
Table 3: Contingency Table: Background Characteristics and Other Attitudes towards Body Hair and Hair Removal

Dependent Variables	N	Race						Religion						Total (%)	
		White (%)	Other (%)	X ²	Black Other (%)	Hispanic (%)	Arabic Other (%)	X ²	Protestant (%)	Other (%)	X ²	Muslim (%)	Catholic Other (%)		X ²
In general, how do you feel about your body hair?															
Negative	179	80.6	77.2	0.328	76.9	78.7	0.082	73.9	79.2	0.610	75	78.5	0.157	77.8	78.2
Positive	50	19.4	22.8		23.1	21.3		26.1	20.8		25	21.5		22.2	21.8
In general, how do you feel about body hair removal?															
Unnecessary	121	46.3	42.6	0.335	39.4	45.1	0.700	38.2	45	0.844	41.9	43.9	0.043	42.5	43.9
Necessary	156	53.7	57.4		60.6	54.9		61.8	55		58.1	56.1		57.5	56.3
Having body hair is disgusting															
Disagree	129	41.6	45.5	0.395	46.7	43.5	0.224	43.9	44.4	0.006	41.9	44.6	0.081	51.2	44.3
Agree	162	58.4	54.5		53.3	56.5		56.1	55.6		58.1	55.4		48.8	55.7
Having body hair is annoying															
Disagree	131	39.3	47.5	1.678	58.7	40.3	7.605***	35.1	47.4	2.824	51.6	44.2	0.610	37.2	45
Agree	160	60.7	52.5		41.3	59.7		64.9	52.6		48.4	55.8		62.8	55
Do you hide hair removal practices from others?															
No	131	51.7	42.1	2.303	41.3	46.3	0.554	29.8	48.7	6.610**	67.7	42.3	7.239***	39.5	45
Yes	160	48.3	57.9		58.7	53.7		70.2	51.3		32.3	57.7		60.5	55
Do you hide hair removal from friends															
No	121	74.4	76.1	0.046	68.2	78.4	1.824	77.5	75	0.102	90	74.7	1.196	65.4	75.6
Yes	39	25.6	23.9		31.8	21.6		22.5	25		10	25.3		34.6	24.4
Do you hide hair removal from parents															
No	129	74.3	68.8	0.364	66.7	71.7	0.319	60.7	73	1.582	62.5	70.8	0.250	76.5	70.3
Yes	31	25.7	31.2		33.3	28.3		39.3	27		37.5	29.2		23.5	29.7
Do you hide hair removal from partner															
No	82	52.8	63	1.155	56.4	61.9	0.345	63.6	59.2	0.203	62.5	60.2	0.017	55.6	60.3
Yes	54	47.2	37		43.6	38.1		36.4	40.8		37.5	39.8		44.4	39.7
My friends have seen me remove body hair															
No	69	54.3	52.4	0.046	66.7	49	2.892	47.1	54	0.284	38.1	56	2.257	47.1	53.1
Yes	61	45.7	47.6		33.3	51		52.9	46		61.9	44		52.9	46.1
My parents have seen me remove body hair															
No	65	78.1	76.9	0.016	88.2	74.6	1.435	76.9	77.5	0.002	90.9	75.3	1.323	100	73.2
Yes	19	21.9	23.1		11.8	25.4		23.1	22.5		9.1	24.7		0	26.8
My partner has seen me remove body hair															
No	85	71.1	67.1	0.215	75	66.7	0.698	76.5	67.3	0.574	50	71.7	3.360	93.8	64.8
Yes	39	28.9	32.9		25	33.3		23.5	32.7		50	28.3		6.3	35.2
How important to you is your hygiene?															
Not important	14	6.7	4	1.043	1.3	6	2.668	7	43	0.754	6.5	4.6	0.204	11.6	3.6
Important	277	93.3	96		98.7	94		93	95.7		93.5	95.4		88.4	96.4
How important is it that you appear clean?															
Disagree	45	12.4	16.8	0.945	16	15.3	0.022	8.8	17.1	2.428	12.9	15.8	0.174	25.6	13.7
Agree	246	87.6	83.2		84	84.7		91.2	82.9		87.1	84.2		74.4	86.3
Having body hair is unclean															
Disagree	127	36	47	3.081	48	42.1	0.780	45.6	43.2	0.112	41.9	43.8	0.041	46.5	43.1
Agree	165	64	53		52	57.9		54.4	56.8		58.1	56.2		53.5	56.9
Having body hair is unnatural															
Disagree	152	50.6	53	0.144	62.7	48.6	4.408**	47.4	53.4	0.672	38.7	53.8	2.543	53.5	52
Agree	139	49.4	47		37.3	51.4		52.6	46.6		61.3	46.2		46.5	47.8
How old were you when you first removed your body hair															
12 years or younger	142	51.2	51	0.000	49.3	51.7	0.121	54.7	50.2	0.347	46.7	51.6	0.262	47.6	51.1
13 years or older	136	48.8	49		50.7	48.3		45.3	49.8		53.3	48.4		52.4	48.9
Have you ever talked to anyone about your body hair															
No	126	44.7	45.6	0.019	48.6	44.2	0.398	41.1	46.4	0.512	48.3	45	0.114	40.5	45.3
Yes	152	55.3	54.4		51.4	55.8		58.9	53.6		51.7	55		59.5	54.7
Have you ever talked to anyone about your body hair removal practices															
No	126	46.6	43.8	0.188	46.5	44.1	0.124	41.1	45.6	0.368	45.2	44.6	0.003	38.1	44.7
Yes	156	53.4	56.2		53.5	55.9		58.9	54.4		54.8	55.4		61.9	55.3

***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Appendix G
Table 3. Contingency Table: Background Characteristics and Other Attitudes towards Body Hair and Hair Removal
 Cont.

Dependent Variables	N	Individual Income		Family Income		Employment Status		Full-time Employment		Other Employment		Total (%)
		\$10,999 or below (%)	\$11,000 or above (%)	\$40,999 or below (%)	\$41,000 or above (%)	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	Full-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Other (%)	
In general, how do you feel about your body hair?	179	77	81.3	76.2	79.3	79.1	76.7	80.3	77.4	74.5	79.3	78.2
Negative	50	23	18.8	23.8	20.7	20.9	23.3	19.7	22.6	25.5	20.7	21.8
Positive	129	43.7	43.8	42.4	44.4	40.4	48.6	42.5	44.1	40	44.8	43.7
Unnecessary	156	56.3	56.3	57.6	55.6	59.6	51.4	57.5	55.9	60	55.2	56.3
Having body hair is disgusting	129	46.4	39	53.8	39	43.7	45.3	42.3	45.1	50	42.7	44.3
Disagree	162	53.6	61	46.2	61	56.3	54.7	57.7	54.9	50	57.3	55.7
Agree	131	48.3	36.6	3.279	50	44.8	45.3	50	43.2	42.4	45.8	45
Disagree	180	51.7	63.4	50	57.8	55.2	54.7	50	56.8	57.6	54.2	55
Agree	131	45.9	42.7	49	42.8	45.4	44.4	53.8	41.8	39.4	46.7	45
Do you hide hair removal practices from others?	160	54.1	57.3	51	57.2	54.6	55.6	48.2	58.2	60.6	53.3	55
No	121	75.2	76.6	68.8	78.5	74.7	76.9	66.7	78.2	80	74.2	75.6
Yes	39	24.8	23.4	30.2	21.5	25.3	23.1	33.3	21.8	20	25.8	24.4
Do you hide hair removal from parents?	129	73.3	64.3	68.4	71.1	69.2	72	64.3	72	73.5	69.1	70.3
No	31	26.7	35.7	31.6	28.9	30.8	28	35.7	28	26.5	30.9	29.7
Yes	82	61.1	58.5	47.6	66	60.2	60.4	53.3	62.3	66.7	58	60.3
No	54	38.9	41.5	52.4	34	39.8	39.6	46.7	37.7	33.3	42	39.7
Yes	69	52.6	54.3	49	55.7	51.9	54.9	50	54.5	42.3	55.8	53.1
No	61	47.4	45.7	51	44.3	48.1	45.1	50	45.5	57.7	44.2	46.9
Yes	85	74.2	86.4	76.5	78	78.4	75.8	73.1	79.3	77.3	77.3	77.4
No	19	25.8	13.6	23.5	22	21.6	24.2	26.9	20.7	22.2	22.7	22.6
Yes	85	66.3	74.3	70.8	67.1	66.7	71.4	60	72.6	72	67.7	68.5
No	39	33.7	25.7	29.2	32.9	33.3	28.6	40	27.4	28	32.3	31.5
Yes	14	4.3	4.9	3.8	5.3	3.4	6.8	6.4	4.2	0	6.2	4.8
Not important	277	95.2	95.1	96.2	94.7	96.6	93.2	93.6	95.8	100	93.8	95.2
Important	45	15.8	14.6	14.4	16	16.1	14.5	14.1	16	15.2	15.6	15.5
Disagree	246	84.2	85.4	85.6	84	83.9	85.5	85.9	84	84.8	84.4	84.5
Agree	127	45	40.2	44.2	43.3	40.8	47.9	41	44.6	33.3	46.7	3.888
Disagree	165	55	59.8	55.8	56.7	59.2	52.1	59	55.4	66.7	53.3	56.4
Agree	152	52.6	51.2	51.9	52.4	53.4	50.4	44.9	54.9	66.2	47.6	52.2
Disagree	139	47.4	48.8	48.1	47.6	46.6	49.6	55.1	45.1	31.8	52.4	47.8
Agree	142	51	51.3	52.5	50.3	55.1	45	52.7	50.5	53.1	50.5	51.1
Disagree	136	49	48.8	47.5	49.7	44.9	55	47.3	49.5	46.9	49.5	48.9
Agree	126	44.2	48.1	56.1	39.4	43.9	47.4	46.5	44.9	35.9	48.1	2.956
Disagree	152	55.8	51.9	43.9	60.6	56.1	52.6	53.5	55.1	64.1	51.9	54.7
Agree	126	45.5	42.7	41.6	46.4	42.7	47.7	45.5	44.4	46.2	44.2	0.074
Disagree	156	54.5	57.3	58.4	53.6	57.3	52.3	54.5	55.6	53.8	55.8	55.3
Agree												

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G
Table 3. Contingency Table: Background Characteristics and Other Attitudes towards Body Hair and Hair Removal
 Cont.

	Dependent Variables	N	Age		Political Beliefs			Relationship Status						
			25 yrs or under (%)	26 yrs or older (%)	χ^2	Liberal (%)	Conservative (%)	Total (%)	N	Single (%)	Dating (%)	Total (%)		
In general, how do you feel about your body hair?	Negative	179	80.2	71.2	1.938	79.1	77.2	0.126	78.2	163	75	78.6	0.379	76.9
	Positive	50	19.8	28.8		20.9	22.8		21.8	49	25	21.4		23.1
In general, how do you feel about body hair removal?	Unnecessary	121	45.5	37.5	1.293	46.8	40.6	1.078	43.7	109	41.3	43	0.072	42.2
	Necessary	156	54.5	62.5		53.2	59.4		56.3	149	58.7	57		57.8
Having body hair is disgusting	Disagree	129	45.6	40	0.836	45.8	42.9	0.261	44.3	115	39.3	45.7	1.085	42.9
	Agree	162	54.4	60		54.2	57.1		55.7	153	60.7	54.3		57.1
Having body hair is annoying	Disagree	131	45.1	44.6	0.005	45.1	44.9	0.002	45	120	41.9	47	0.704	44.8
	Agree	160	54.9	55.4		54.9	55.1		55	148	58.1	53		55.3
Do you hide hair removal practices from others?	No	131	42.9	52.3	1.797	45.8	44.2	0.077	45	115	42.7	43	0.003	42.9
	Yes	160	57.1	47.7		54.2	55.8		55	153	57.3	57		57.1
Do you hide hair removal from friends?	No	121	76.7	71	0.452	75.6	75.6	0.000	75.6	117	77.6	75.6	0.086	76.5
	Yes	39	23.3	29		24.4	24.4		24.4	36	22.4	24.4		23.5
Do you hide hair removal from parents?	No	129	72.3	63	0.885	75.8	64.5	1.935	70.3	86	73.6	68.1	0.431	70.5
	Yes	31	27.7	37		24.2	35.5		29.7	36	26.4	31.9		29.5
Do you hide hair removal from partner?	No	82	58.5	66.7	0.653	61.4	59.1	0.078	60.3	78	63.2	59.2	0.213	60.9
	Yes	54	41.5	33.3		38.6	40.9		39.7	50	36.8	40.8		39.1
My friends have seen me remove body hair	No	89	55.2	47.1	0.670	51.5	54.7	0.131	53.1	81	51	55.4	0.214	53.5
	Yes	61	44.8	52.9		48.5	45.3		46.9	53	49	44.6		46.5
My parents have seen me remove body hair	No	65	71	95.5	5.563*	73.8	81	0.612	77.4	57	86.7	72.1	2.193	78.1
	Yes	19	29	4.5		26.2	19		22.6	16	13.3	27.9		21.9
My partner has seen me remove body hair	No	85	67.4	71.9	0.221	67.2	70	0.114	68.5	74	65.2	69.8	0.261	67.9
	Yes	39	32.6	28.1		32.8	30		31.5	35	34.8	30.2		32.1
How important to you is your hygiene?	Not Important	14	5.8	1.5	1.957	4.9	4.8	0.002	4.8	14	6.8	4	1.092	5.2
	Important	277	94.2	98.5		95.1	95.2		95.2	254	93.2	96		94.8
How important is it that you appear clean?	Disagree	45	18.1	6.2	5.549*	18.1	12.9	1.465	15.5	41	19.7	11.9	3.046	15.3
	Agree	246	81.9	93.8		81.9	87.1		84.5	227	80.3	88.1		84.7
Having body hair is unclean	Disagree	127	42.9	46.2	0.215	46.5	40.8	0.965	43.6	116	48.7	39.1	2.498	43.3
	Agree	165	57.1	53.8		53.5	59.2		56.4	152	51.3	60.9		56.7
Having body hair is unnatural	Disagree	152	49.6	61.5	2.904	52.1	52.4	0.003	52.2	140	53	51.7	0.047	52.2
	Agree	139	50.4	38.5		47.9	47.6		47.8	128	47	48.3		47.8
How old were you when you first removed 12 years or younger	13 years or older	142	50.2	54.1	0.285	45.3	56.7	3.668	51.1	134	51.3	52.4	0.030	51.9
		136	49.8	45.9		54.7	43.3		49.9	124	48.7	47.6		48.1
Have you ever talked to anyone about your body hair	No	126	44.2	49.2	0.496	43.9	46.8	0.232	45.3	121	43.4	49.7	1.010	46.9
	Yes	152	55.8	50.8		56.1	53.2		54.7	137	56.6	50.3		53.1
Have you ever talked to anyone about your body hair removal practices	No	126	44.5	45.2	0.007	42.6	46.8	0.516	44.7	118	46	44.6	0.052	45.2
	Yes	156	55.5	54.8		57.4	53.2		55.3	143	54	55.4		54.8

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G
Table 4: Mean Differences between Social Background Characteristics and Socialization to Hairlessness Norms

Female Socialization																Male Socialization						Media Socialization					
Independent Variables	Category	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df											
Age	25 years or younger	2.81	1.283	2.104	.0036*	289	0.44	0.705	0.619	0.536	289	0.75	0.829	-0.349	0.727	289											
	26 years or older	3.20	1.372				0.51	0.886				0.71	0.765														
Race	White	2.76	1.349	1.178	0.240	289	0.38	0.746	1.136	0.257	289	0.64	0.678	1.504	0.134	211.70											
	Women of Color	2.96	1.292				0.49	0.748				0.78	0.865														
	Black	2.77	1.361	0.974	0.331	289	0.45	0.741	0.050	0.960	289	0.92	0.882	-2.253	.025*	289											
	Other	2.94	1.293				0.46	0.752				0.68	0.782														
	Hispanic	3.11	1.012	-1.58	0.117	111.84	0.56	0.732	-1.176	0.241	289	0.68	0.736	0.564	0.573	289											
	Other	2.85	1.371				0.43	0.751				0.75	0.833														
Relationship Status	Arabic	3.39	1.145	-2.202	.0028*	289	0.42	0.720	0.296	0.767	289	0.90	0.908	-1.190	0.235	289											
	Other	2.84	1.319				0.46	0.752				0.72	0.802														
	Single	2.98	1.306	0.598	0.550	266	0.58	0.812	2.009	.046*	231.68	0.74	0.811	-0.179	0.858	266											
	Dating	2.89	1.289				0.39	0.712				0.76	0.822														
Religion	Protestant	2.74	1.482	0.846	0.398	289	0.40	0.791	0.585	0.559	289	0.88	0.905	-1.266	0.207	289											
	Other	2.93	1.280				0.47	0.741				0.71	0.796														
	Muslim	3.13	1.307	-1.299	0.195	289	0.40	0.751	0.556	0.579	289	0.71	0.895	0.248	0.804	289											
	Other	2.86	1.309				0.47	0.748				0.74	0.800														
	Catholic	2.78	1.219	1.036	0.301	289	0.47	0.665	-0.198	0.843	289	0.72	0.811	0.285	0.776	289											
	Other	2.95	1.346				0.45	0.781				0.75	0.817														
Political Beliefs	Conservative	2.99	1.266	1.132	0.258	289	0.50	0.780	0.911	0.363	289	0.73	0.799	-0.231	0.817	289											
	Liberal	2.810	1.353				0.42	0.714				0.75	0.832														
Employment Status	Unemployed	2.96	1.392	0.607	0.544	289	0.52	0.750	1.204	0.230	289	0.7	0.780	-0.652	0.515	289											
	Employed	2.86	1.255				0.41	0.746				0.76	0.837														
	Full-time	2.86	1.276	0.325	0.745	289	0.42	0.712	0.468	0.640	289	0.85	0.913	-1.363	0.174	289											
	Other	2.92	1.326				0.47	0.762				0.70	0.773														
Individual Income	Part-time	2.71	1.225	1.329	0.185	289	0.36	0.816	1.155	0.249	289	0.65	0.774	0.991	0.322	289											
	Other	2.96	1.332				0.48	0.726				0.76	0.825														
Family Income	\$10,999 or less	2.85	1.264	1.011	0.313	289	0.44	0.718	0.787	0.432	289	0.67	0.774	2.49	.013*	289											
	\$11,000 or above	3.02	1.423				0.51	0.820				0.93	0.886														
Family Income	\$40,999 or less	2.88	1.356	-0.246	0.806	289	0.51	0.824	0.894	0.372	289	0.85	0.845	1.683	0.094	289											
	\$41,000 or above	2.91	1.288				0.43	0.702				0.68	0.792														

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G
Table 5: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Rewards

Dependent Variables	N	Race						Religion						Total (%)
		White (%)	Other (%)	Black (%)	Hispanic (%)	Arabic (%)	Other (%)	Protestant (%)	Other (%)	Muslim (%)	Catholic (%)	Other (%)	Other (%)	
Have you ever benefited because of your physical appearance?	95	32.6	32.7	36	24.6	38.7	31.9	34.9	32.3	42.2	30.6	33.5	0.231	32.6
	196	67.4	67.3	64	75.4	61.3	68.1	65.1	67.7	57.8	69.4	66.5	67.4	67.4
Do you think removing body hair has affected your life in a positive way?	112	50	45.7	53.3	31.9	52	46.5	40	48.3	48.6	47.1	47	0.000	47.1
	126	50	54.3	46.7	68.1	48	53.5	60	51.7	51.4	52.9	53	52.9	52.9
Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?	221	77	77.8	70.8	82.5	83.9	76.8	78	77.5	88.6	74.7	78.7	0.544	77.5
	64	23	22.2	29.2	17.5	16.1	23.2	22	22.5	11.4	25.3	21.3	22.5	22.5
Do you think hair-free women are more likely to get dates?	75	25	27.7	26.4	29.6	22.6	27.4	20	28	20	22.6	28.7	1.111	26.9
	204	75	72.3	73.6	70.4	77.4	72.6	80	72	80	77.4	71.3	73.1	73.1
Do you think removing body hair has affected your intimate relationship in a positive way?	180	66.3	62.4	60	69.1	53.3	64.8	57.1	64.7	61.4	68.3	61.7	1.096	63.6
	103	33.7	37.6	40	30.9	45.7	35.2	42.9	35.3	38.6	31.7	38.3	36.4	36.4
Do you think hair-free women are more likely to get hired for jobs?	82	28.8	30.7	35.6	25.5	17.9	31.6	14.6	32.9	23.3	27.8	31.1	0.279	30.1
	190	71.3	69.3	64.4	74.5	82.1	68.4	85.4	67.1	76.7	72.2	68.9	69.9	69.9
Would you go to work without removing body hair?	196	69	69.4	69.9	69.6	71	69	61.9	70.5	75	64.2	71.3	1.365	69.3
	87	31	30.6	30.1	30.4	29	31	38.1	29.5	25	35.8	28.7	30.7	30.7
Remove because I get more professional credibility	128	39.3	46	46.7	33.3	64.5	41.5	34.9	45.6	55.6	38.8	46.1	1.299	44
	163	60.7	54	53.3	66.7	35.5	58.5	65.1	54.4	44.4	61.2	53.9	56	56
Remove because I receive social approval	183	57.3	65.3	65.3	68.4	71	61.9	69.8	61.7	64.4	62.4	63.1	0.015	62.9
	108	42.7	34.7	34.7	31.6	29	38.1	30.2	38.3	35.6	37.6	36.9	37.1	37.1

***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05

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Table 5: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Rewards
Cont

Dependent Variables	N	Individual Income		Family Income		Employment Status		Full-time Employment		Other Employment		Total (%)
		\$10,999 or below (%)	\$11,000 or above (%)	\$40,999 or below (%)	\$41,000 or above (%)	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	Full-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Other (%)	
Have you ever benefited because of your physical appearance?	No	32.5	32.9	33.7	32.1	32.2	33.3	34.6	31.9	34.8	32	32.6
	Yes	67.5	67.1	66.3	67.9	67.8	66.7	65.4	68.1	65.2	68	67.4
Do you think removing body hair has affected your life in a positive way?	No	45.7	50.8	43.2	49.3	51	40.9	44.4	48	51.7	45.6	47.1
	Yes	54.3	49.2	56.8	50.7	49	59.1	55.6	52	48.3	54.4	52.9
Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?	No	78.4	75.3	72.3	80.4	77.3	77.9	76.6	77.9	75.4	78.2	77.5
	Yes	21.6	24.7	27.7	19.6	22.7	22.1	23.4	22.1	24.6	21.8	22.5
Do you think hair-free women are more likely to get dates?	No	29.8	19.8	29.6	25.4	25.7	28.6	25.7	27.3	25.4	27.3	26.9
	Yes	70.2	80.2	70.4	74.6	74.3	71.4	74.3	72.7	74.6	72.7	73.1
Do you think removing body hair has affected your intimate relationship in a positive way?	No	62.6	66.3	63.7	63.5	62.1	65.8	65.3	63	50.8	67.4	63.6
	Yes	37.4	33.8	36.3	36.5	37.9	34.2	34.7	37	49.2	32.6	36.4
Do you think hair-free women are more likely to get hired for jobs?	No	30.9	28.2	33.7	28.2	31.3	28.3	22.4	33.2	44.3	26.1	30.1
	Yes	69.1	71.8	66.3	71.8	68.7	71.7	77.6	66.8	55.7	73.9	69.9
Would you go to work without removing body hair?	No	68.1	72.2	67	70.5	69.4	69	64.9	70.9	71.4	68.6	69.3
	Yes	31.9	27.8	33	29.5	30.6	31	35.1	29.1	28.6	31.4	30.7
Remove because I get more professional credibility	Disagree	45.5	40.2	45.2	43.3	47.1	39.3	51.3	41.3	43.9	44	44
	Agree	54.5	59.8	54.8	56.7	52.9	60.7	48.7	58.7	56.1	56	56
Remove because I receive social approval	Disagree	60.8	68.3	60.6	64.2	63.8	61.5	62.8	62.9	63.6	62.7	62.9
	Agree	39.2	31.7	39.4	35.8	36.2	38.5	37.2	37.1	36.4	37.3	37.1

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

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Table 5: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Rewards
Cont.

Dependent Variables	N	Age		Political Beliefs			Relationship Status				Total (%)			
		25 yrs or under (%)	26 yrs or older (%)	X ²	Liberal (%)	Conservative (%)	X ²	Total (%)	N	Single (%)		Dating (%)	X ²	
Have you ever benefited because of your physical appearance?														
	No	95	32.3	33.8	0.055	29.2	36.1	1.569	32.6	91	35	33.1	0.11	34
Yes	196	67.7	66.2		70.8	63.9			67.4	177	65	66.9		66
Do you think removing body hair has affected your life in a positive way?														
	No	112	48.2	42.2	0.521	43.9	50	0.899	47.1	104	46.4	48.8	0.121	47.7
Yes	126	51.8	57.8		56.1	50			52.9	114	53.6	51.2		52.3
Would you go socializing without removing your body hair?														
	No	221	77.8	76.6	0.046	74.1	80.8	1.847	77.5	205	79.6	76.7	0.333	77.9
Yes	64	22.2	23.4		25.9	19.2			22.5	58	20.4	23.3		22.1
Do you think hair-free women are more likely to get dates?														
	No	75	24.5	34.9	2.675	29.7	24.1	1.111	26.9	68	23.5	28.9	0.95	26.5
Yes	204	75.5	65.1		70.3	75.9			73.1	189	76.5	71.1		73.5
Do you think removing body hair has affected your intimate relationship in a positive way?														
	No	180	63.5	64.1	0.008	59.6	67.6	1.971	63.6	166	64.3	63.5	0.016	63.8
Yes	103	36.5	35.9		40.4	32.4			36.4	94	35.7	36.5		36.2
Do you think hair-free women are more likely to get hired for jobs?														
	No	82	29.1	33.9	0.503	34.1	26.3	1.963	30.1	74	30.3	28.9	0.058	29.5
Yes	190	70.9	66.1		65.9	73.7			69.9	177	69.7	71.1		70.5
Would you go to work without removing body hair?														
	No	196	70	66.7	0.256	67.2	71.2	0.552	69.3	179	69.9	68	0.106	68.8
Yes	87	30	33.3		32.8	28.8			30.7	81	30.1	32		31.2
Remove because I get more professional credibility														
	Disagree	128	41.6	52.3	2.352	46.5	41.5	0.747	44	115	44.4	41.7	0.199	42.9
Agree	163	58.4	47.7		53.5	58.5			56	153	55.6	58.3		57.1
Remove because I receive social approval														
	Disagree	183	59.7	73.8	4.307*	63.9	61.9	0.123	62.9	172	68.4	60.9	1.591	64.2
Agree	108	40.3	26.2		36.1	38.1			37.1	96	31.6	39.1		35.8

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G

Table 6: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Consequences

Dependent Variables	N	Race						Religion						Total (%)								
		White (%)		Black (%)		Hispanic (%)		Arabic (%)		Protestant (%)		Muslim (%)			Catholic (%)							
		Other (%)	X ²	Other (%)	X ²	Other (%)	X ²	Other (%)	X ²	Other (%)	X ²	Other (%)	X ²		Other (%)	X ²						
Body hair is ugly	159	53.9	55	0.026	50.7	56	0.643	52.6	55.1	0.115	58.1	54.2	0.164	41.9	56.9	3.324	57.8	54.1	0.212	51.8	55.8	0.400
	Disagree	132	46.1	45	49.3	44		47.4	44.9		41.9	45.8		58.1	43.1		42.2	45.9		48.2	44.2	
	Agree																					
Remove because body hair increases body odor	199	61.8	71.3	2.573	64	69.9	0.899	71.9	67.5	0.412	80.6	66.9	2.412	58.1	70.2	2.45	80	66.3	3.322	67.1	68.9	0.098
	Disagree	92	38.2	28.7	36	30.1		28.1	32.5		19.4	33.1		41.9	29.8		20	33.7		32.9	31.1	
	Agree																					
Body hair is uncomfortable	113	38.2	39.1	0.021	41.3	38	0.266	38.6	38.9	0.002	41.9	38.5	0.141	44.2	37.9	0.609	37.8	39	0.025	41.2	37.9	0.278
	Disagree	178	61.8	60.9	58.7	62		61.4	61.1		58.1	61.5		55.8	62.1		62.2	61		58.8	62.1	
	Agree																					
Remove because I want to avoid teasing/negative attention	174	62.9	58.4	0.522	57.3	60.6	0.254	57.9	60.3	0.106	54.8	60.4	0.354	65.1	58.9	0.595	57.8	60.2	0.09	58.8	60.2	0.047
	Disagree	117	37.1	41.6	42.7	39.4		42.1	39.7		45.2	39.6		34.9	41.1		42.2	39.8		41.2	39.8	
	Agree																					
Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair	124	37.6	49.2	3.143	50	44	0.768	53.6	43.5	1.812	55.6	44.5	1.201	46.3	45.5	0.011	51.2	44.6	0.617	50.6	43.5	1.142
	No	148	62.4	50.8	50	56		46.4	56.5		44.4	55.5		53.7	54.5		48.8	55.4		49.4	56.5	
	Yes																					
Men prefer hair-free women	126	43.8	43.1	0.014	45.3	42.6	0.17	38.6	44.4	0.638	41.9	43.5	0.026	48.8	42.3	0.63	40	43.9	0.236	43.5	43.2	0.003
	Disagree	165	56.2	56.9	54.7	57.4		61.4	55.6		58.1	56.5		51.2	57.7		60	56.1		56.5	56.8	
	Agree																					
Partner wants me to remove body hair	141	41.6	51.5	2.43	44	50	0.802	54.4	47	0.999	58.1	47.3	1.283	39.5	50	1.607	57.8	46.7	1.853	54.1	46.1	1.542
	Disagree	150	58.4	48.5	56	50		45.6	53		41.9	52.7		60.5	50		42.2	53.3		45.9	53.9	
	Agree																					
Remove because there is family pressure to remove body hair	153	47.2	55	1.492	52	52.8	0.014	52.6	52.6	0.000	67.7	50.8	3.200	44.2	54	1.425	64.4	50.4	3.007	54.1	51.9	0.114
	Disagree	138	52.8	45	48	47.2		47.4	47.4		32.3	49.2		55.8	46		35.6	49.6		45.9	48.1	
	Agree																					

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Table 6: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Consequences
Cont.

Dependent Variables	N	Individual Income		Family Income		Employment Status		Full-time Employment		Other Employment		Total (%)
		\$10,999 or below (%)	\$11,000 or above (%)	\$40,999 or below (%)	\$41,000 or above (%)	Employed (%)	Unemployed (%)	Full-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Part-time (%)	Other (%)	
Body hair is ugly	Disagree	54.5	54.9	58.7	52.4	56.3	52.1	57.7	53.5	53	55.1	54.6
	Agree	45.5	45.1	41.3	47.6	43.7	47.9	42.3	46.5	47	44.9	45.4
Remove because body hair increases	Disagree	70.8	62.2	61.5	72.2	67.8	69.2	70.5	67.6	72.7	67.1	68.4
	Agree	29.2	37.8	38.5	27.8	32.2	30.8	29.5	32.4	27.3	32.9	31.6
Body hair is uncomfortable	Disagree	38.3	40.2	38.5	39	40.2	36.8	42.3	37.6	40.9	38.2	38.8
	Agree	61.7	59.8	61.5	61	59.8	63.2	57.7	62.4	59.1	61.8	61.2
Remove because I want to avoid teasing/negative attention	Disagree	59.8	62.2	55.8	62	62.6	55.6	65.4	57.7	56.1	60.9	59.8
	Agree	41.1	37.8	44.2	38	37.4	44.4	34.6	42.2	43.9	39.1	40.2
Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair?	No	47.4	41.3	43.8	46.6	46	45	43.8	46.2	52.4	43.5	45.6
	Yes	52.6	58.8	56.3	53.4	54	55	56.2	53.8	47.6	56.5	54.4
Men prefer hair-free women	Disagree	43.1	43.9	42.3	43.9	44.8	41	42.3	43.7	45.5	42.7	43.3
	Agree	56.9	56.1	57.7	56.1	55.2	59	57.7	56.3	54.5	57.3	56.7
Partner wants me to remove body hair	Disagree	49.8	45.1	50	47.6	46.6	51.3	34.6	53.5	51.5	47.6	48.5
	Agree	50.2	54.9	50	52.4	53.4	48.7	65.4	46.5	48.5	52.4	51.5
Remove because there is family pressure to remove body hair	Disagree	54.1	48.8	50	54	57.5	45.3	57.7	50.7	57.6	51.1	52.6
	Agree	45.9	51.2	50	46	42.5	54.7	42.3	49.3	42.4	48.9	47.4

Appendix G

Table 6: Contingency Table: Social Background Characteristics and Knowledge of and/or Experience with Social Consequences
Cont.

Dependent Variables	N	Age			Political Beliefs			Relationship Status					
		25 yrs or under (%)	26 yrs or older (%)	χ ²	Liberal (%)	Conservative (%)	χ ²	Total (%)	N	Single (%)	Dating (%)	χ ²	Total (%)
Body hair is ugly													
	Disagree	159	53.5	58.5	0.493	52.8	56.5	0.399	54.6	140	52.1	52.3	0.001
Agree	132	46.5	41.5		47.2	43.5		45.4	128	47.9	47.7		47.8
Remove because body hair increases body odor													
	Disagree	199	67.7	70.8	0.22	66	70.7	0.767	68.4	183	69.2	67.5	0.086
Agree	92	32.3	29.2		34	29.3		31.6	85	30.8	32.5		31.7
Body hair is uncomfortable													
	Disagree	113	38.1	41.5	0.258	40.3	37.4	0.251	38.8	104	44.4	34.4	2.780
Agree	178	61.9	58.5		59.7	62.6		61.2	164	55.6	65.6		61.2
Remove because I want to avoid teasing/negative attention													
	Disagree	174	60.2	58.5	0.062	56.9	62.6	0.963	59.8	164	64.1	58.9	0.74
Agree	117	39.8	41.5		43.1	37.4		40.2	104	35.9	41.1		38.8
Have you ever been embarrassed because of your body hair?													
	No	124	41.8	59.3	5.729*	50	41.2	2.134	45.6	118	42.3	50.4	1.601
Yes	148	58.2	40.7		50	58.8		54.4	134	57.7	49.6		53.2
Men prefer hair-free women													
	Disagree	126	44.7	38.5	0.798	40.3	46.3	1.06	43.3	118	49.6	39.7	2.589
Agree	165	55.3	61.5		59.7	53.7		56.7	150	50.4	60.3		56
Partner wants me to remove body hair													
	Disagree	141	49.1	46.2	0.177	44.4	52.4	1.835	48.5	130	49.6	47.7	0.094
Agree	150	50.9	53.8		55.6	47.6		51.5	138	50.4	52.3		51.5
Remove because there is family pressure to remove body hair													
	Disagree	153	51.3	56.9	0.634	50.7	54.4	0.405	52.6	139	55.6	49	1.132
Agree	138	48.7	43.1		49.3	45.6		47.4	129	44.4	51		48.1

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix G
Table 7: Mean Differences between Social Background Characteristics, Social Rewards, and Social Consequences

Independent Variables	Category	Social Rewards					Social Consequences				
		Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df	Mean	St. Dev.	t	p	df
Age	25 years or younger	1.765	1.547	-1.734	0.084	210	18.205	3.589	1.241	0.216	207
	26 years or older	2.214	1.317				17.419	4.113			
Race	White	1.909	1.689	-0.357	0.721	210	18.661	3.896	-1.523	0.131	107.16
	Women of Color	1.828	1.431				17.782	3.605			
	Black	1.655	1.578	1.136	0.257	210	17.810	3.581	0.562	0.575	207
	Other	1.924	1.487				18.133	3.761			
	Hispanic	2.071	1.314	-1.154	0.252	72.23	18.293	3.356	-0.48	0.632	207
	Other	1.80	1.556				17.982	3.793			
Relationship Status	Arabic	1.826	1.403	0.093	0.926	210	17.174	3.639	1.194	0.234	207
	Other	1.857	1.528				18.151	3.709			
	Single	1.952	1.605	0.922	0.358	194	17.842	3.260	-0.817	0.415	190.04
	Dating	1.75	1.455				18.266	3.973			
Religion	Protestant	2.065	1.632	-0.839	0.402	210	18.500	3.921	-0.700	0.485	207
	Other	1.818	1.493				17.972	3.678			
	Muslim	1.818	1.334	0.147	0.883	210	17.606	3.482	0.737	0.462	207
	Other	1.86	1.546				18.125	3.750			
	Catholic	1.879	1.534	-0.151	0.88	210	18.246	3.758	-0.531	0.596	207
	Other	1.844	1.509				17.951	3.691			
Political Beliefs	Conservative	1.728	1.471	-1.308	0.192	210	17.959	3.578	-0.307	0.759	207
	Liberal	2.000	1.553				18.117	3.829			
Employment Status	Unemployed	1.904	1.445	0.384	0.701	210	18.126	3.842	0.274	0.784	207
	Employed	1.822	1.558				17.984	3.620			
	Full-time	1.965	1.535	-0.648	0.518	210	17.527	3.919	1.204	0.230	207
	Other	1.813	1.507				18.227	3.622			
	Part-time	1.857	1.581	-0.018	0.986	210	18.244	3.657	-0.411	0.682	207
	Other	1.853	1.496				17.988	3.729			
Individual Income	\$10,999 or less	1.827	1.438	0.431	0.667	210	17.861	3.682	1.147	0.253	207
	\$11,000 or above	1.929	1.715				18.517	3.757			
Family Income	\$40,999 or less	2.130	1.542	2.022	.044*	210	17.974	3.804	-0.205	0.838	207
	\$41,000 or above	1.696	1.478				18.083	3.661			

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix I

Table1: Contingency Table: Relationships Between Black Women and Areas of Depilation

		Black Women vs. Other Race ¹			
Body Areas		Black (%)	Other (%)	χ^2	Total (%)
Forehead					
No	270	94.7	92.1	0.535	92.8
Yes	21	5.3	7.9		7.2
Eyebrows					
No	19	5.3	6.9	0.237	6.5
Yes	272	94.7	93.1		93.5
Upper Lip					
No	43	24	11.6	6.826**	14.8
Yes	248	76	88.4		85.2
Chin					
No	112	37.3	38.9	0.057	38.5
Yes	179	62.7	61.1		61.5
Face/Other					
No	279	90.7	97.7	6.936**	95.9
Yes	12	9.3	2.3		4.1
Ears					
No	275	90.7	95.8	2.86	94.5
Yes	16	9.3	4.2		5.5
Nose					
No	271	88	94.9	4.150*	93.1
Yes	20	12	5.1		6.9
Neck					
No	276	93.3	95.4	0.473	94.8
Yes	15	6.7	4.6		5.2
Shoulders					
No	282	93.3	98.1	4.306*	96.9
Yes	9	6.7	1.9		3.1
Upper Back					
No	271	88	94.9	4.150*	93.1
Yes	20	12	5.1		6.9
Stomach					
No	246	74.7	88	7.529**	84.5
Yes	45	25.3	12		15.5
Arms					
No	144	57.3	46.8	2.49	49.5
Yes	147	42.7	53.2		50.5
Underarms					
No	25	6.7	9.3	0.476	8.6
Yes	266	93.3	90.7		91.4
Hands					
No	255	86.7	88	0.086	87.6
Yes	36	13.3	12		12.4
Legs					
No	38	18.7	11.1	2.799	13.1
Yes	253	81.3	88.9		86.9
Buttocks					
No	245	84	84.3	0.003	84.2
Yes	46	16	15.7		15.8
Bikini Line					
No	146	48	50.9	0.191	50.2
Yes	145	52	49.1		49.8
Pubic, Patch					
No	205	73.3	69.4	0.404	70.4
Yes	86	26.7	30.6		29.6
Pubic & Anal					
No	198	70.7	67.1	0.32	68
Yes	93	29.3	32.9		32

¹There were no significant mean differences between the other racial categories (white, Hispanic, or Arabic), and thus, these categories were not included in the table.

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix I

Table 2: Contingency Table: Relationships Between Relationship Status and Areas of Depilation

		Single vs. Dating Women			
Body Areas		Single Women (%)	Dating Women (%)	χ^2	Total (%)
Forehead	No 249	92.3	93.4	0.115	92.9
	Yes 19	7.7	6.6		7.1
Eyebrows	No 17	9.4	4	3.27	6.3
	Yes 251	90.6	96		93.7
Upper Lip	No 39	13.7	15.2	0.128	14.6
	Yes 229	86.3	84.8		85.4
Chin	No 100	38.5	36.4	0.117	37.3
	Yes 168	61.5	63.6		62.7
Face/Other	No 257	94.9	96.7	0.553	95.9
	Yes 11	5.1	3.3		4.1
Ears	No 254	91.5	97.4	4.632*	94.8
	Yes 14	8.5	2.6		5.2
Nose	No 250	92.3	94	0.316	93.3
	Yes 18	7.7	6		6.7
Neck	No 255	93.2	96.7	1.776	95.1
	Yes 13	6.8	3.3		4.9
Shoulders	No 260	94.9	98.7	3.293	97
	Yes 8	5.1	1.3		3
Upper Back	No 249	92.3	93.4	0.115	92.9
	Yes 19	7.7	6.6		7.1
Stomach	No 225	82.1	85.4	0.559	84
	Yes 43	17.9	14.6		16
Arms	No 129	44.4	51	1.132	48.1
	Yes 139	55.6	49		51.9
Underarms	No 23	8.5	8.6	0	8.6
	Yes 245	91.5	91.4		91.4
Hands	No 235	82.9	91.4	4.395*	87.7
	Yes 33	17.1	8.6		12.3
Legs	No 34	14.5	11.3	0.637	12.7
	Yes 234	85.5	88.7		87.3
Buttocks	No 225	82.9	84.8	0.17	84
	Yes 43	17.1	15.2		16
Bikini Line	No 132	44.4	53	1.922	49.3
	Yes 136	55.6	47		50.7
Pubic Patch	No 187	72.6	67.5	0.813	69.8
	Yes 81	27.4	32.5		30.2
Pubic & Anal	No 181	65.8	68.9	0.282	67.5
	Yes 87	34.2	31.1		32.5

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

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Table 3: Contingency Table: Relationships Between Age and Areas of Depilation

		Women's Age			
Body Areas		25 years or Younger (%)	26 years or Older (%)	χ^2	Total (%)
Forehead					
No	270	92	95.4	0.846	92.8
Yes	21	8	4.6		7.2
Eyebrows					
No	19	7.1	4.6	0.502	6.5
Yes	272	92.9	95.4		93.5
Upper Lip					
No	43	14.6	15.4	0.025	14.8
Yes	248	85.4	84.6		85.2
Chin					
No	112	38.1	40	0.081	38.5
Yes	179	61.9	60		61.5
Face/Other					
No	279	94.7	100	3.6	95.9
Yes	12	5.3	0		4.1
Ears					
No	275	93.8	96.9	0.944	94.5
Yes	16	6.2	3.1		5.5
Nose					
No	271	91.2	100	6.177*	93.1
Yes	20	8.8	0		6.9
Neck					
No	276	93.4	100	4.549*	94.8
Yes	15	6.6	0		5.2
Shoulders					
No	282	96.5	98.5	0.675	96.9
Yes	9	3.5	1.5		3.1
Upper Back					
No	271	91.6	98.5	3.721	93.1
Yes	20	8.4	1.5		6.9
Stomach					
No	246	83.2	89.2	1.411	84.5
Yes	45	16.8	10.8		15.5
Arms					
No	144	50.4	46.2	0.371	49.5
Yes	147	49.6	53.8		50.5
Underarms					
No	25	8.4	9.2	0.044	8.6
Yes	266	91.6	90.8		91.4
Hands					
No	255	87.2	89.2	0.198	87.6
Yes	36	12.8	10.8		12.4
Legs					
No	38	12.4	15.4	0.399	13.1
Yes	253	87.6	84.6		86.9
Buttocks					
No	245	82.3	90.8	2.72	84.2
Yes	46	17.7	9.2		15.8
Bikini Line					
No	146	51.8	44.6	1.034	50.2
Yes	145	48.2	55.4		49.8
Pubic, Patch					
No	205	74.3	56.9	7.352**	70.4
Yes	86	25.7	43.1		29.6
Pubic & Anal					
No	198	64.6	80	5.504*	68
Yes	93	35.4	20		32

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

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Table 4: Contingency Table: Relationships Between Religion and Areas of Depilation

Body Areas	Protestant Women vs. Other			Catholic Women vs. Other			Muslim Women vs. Other Religions			Total (%)
	Protestant (%)	Other (%)	χ^2	Catholic (%)	Other (%)	χ^2	Muslim (%)	Other (%)	χ^2	
Forehead										
No 270	93	92.7	0.004	96.5	91.3	2.438	91.1	93.1	0.222	92.8
Yes 21	7	7.3		3.5	8.7		8.9	6.9		7.2
Eyebrows										
No 19	4.7	6.9	0.292	4.7	7.3	0.654	8.9	6.1	0.486	6.5
Yes 272	95.3	93.1		95.3	92.7		91.1	93.9		93.5
Upper Lip										
No 43	9.3	15.7	1.201	16.5	14.1	0.274	2.2	17.1	6.662**	14.8
Yes 248	90.7	84.3		83.5	85.9		97.8	82.9		85.2
Chin										
No 112	48.8	36.7	2.283	28.2	42.7	5.331*	40	38.2	0.051	38.5
Yes 179	51.2	63.3		71.8	57.3		60	61.8		61.5
Face/Other										
No 279	90.7	96.8	3.422	94.1	96.6	0.939	100	95.1	2.29	95.9
Yes 12	9.3	3.2		5.9	3.4		0	4.9		4.1
Ears										
No 275	90.7	95.2	1.405	95.3	94.2	0.145	93.3	94.7	0.14	94.5
Yes 16	9.3	4.8		4.7	5.8		6.7	5.3		5.5
Nose										
No 271	86	94.4	3.952*	92.9	93.2	0.006	97.8	92.3	1.799	93.1
Yes 20	14	5.6		7.1	6.8		2.2	7.7		6.9
Neck										
No 276	93	95.2	0.343	94.1	95.1	0.13	95.6	94.7	0.055	94.8
Yes 15	7	4.8		5.9	4.9		4.4	5.3		5.2
Shoulders										
No 282	90.7	98	6.491*	97.6	96.6	0.219	100	96.3	1.699	96.9
Yes 9	9.3	2		2.4	3.4		0	3.7		3.1
Upper Back										
No 271	95.3	92.7	0.389	92.9	93.2	0.006	95.6	92.7	0.49	93.1
Yes 20	4.7	7.3		7.1	6.8		4.4	7.3		6.9
Stomach										
No 246	74.4	86.3	3.951*	87.1	83.5	0.585	91.1	83.3	1.76	84.5
Yes 45	25.6	13.7		12.9	16.5		8.9	16.7		15.5
Arms										
No 144	51.2	49.2	0.057	41.2	52.9	3.316	62.2	47.2	3.455	49.5
Yes 147	48.8	50.8		58.8	47.1		37.8	52.8		50.5
Underarms										
No 25	4.7	9.3	0.997	7.1	9.2	0.359	22.2	6.1	12.595***	8.6
Yes 266	95.3	90.7		92.9	90.8		77.8	93.9		91.4
Hands										
No 255	88.4	87.5	0.026	91.8	85.9	1.895	86.7	87.8	0.045	87.6
Yes 36	11.6	12.5		8.2	14.1		13.3	12.2		12.4
Legs										
No 38	14	12.9	0.036	14.1	12.6	0.119	8.9	13.8	0.815	13.1
Yes 253	86	87.1		85.9	87.4		91.1	86.2		86.9
Buttocks										
No 245	79.1	85.1	0.995	85.9	83.5	0.258	82.2	84.6	0.155	84.2
Yes 46	20.9	14.9		14.1	16.5		17.8	15.4		15.8
Bikini Line										
No 146	65.1	47.6	4.507*	54.1	48.5	0.748	55.6	49.2	0.617	50.2
Yes 145	34.9	52.4		45.9	51.5		44.4	50.8		49.8
Pubic, Patch										
No 205	76.7	69.4	0.961	65.9	72.3	1.202	68.9	70.7	0.062	70.4
Yes 86	23.3	30.6		34.1	27.7		31.1	29.3		29.6
Pubic & Anal										
No 198	67.4	68.1	0.008	69.4	67.5	0.104	71.1	67.5	0.231	68
Yes 93	32.6	31.9		30.6	32.5		28.9	32.5		32

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix I

Table 5: Contingency Table: Relationships Between Residential Locations and Areas of Depilation

		Residence			
Body Areas		Live Home with Parents (%)	Live in Dorm, Rent, or Own (%)	χ^2	Total (%)
Forehead					
No	270	91.5	93.8	0.594	92.8
Yes	21	8.5	6.2		7.2
Eyebrows					
No	19	3.1	9.3	4.463*	6.5
Yes	272	96.9	90.7		93.5
Upper Lip					
No	43	14	15.4	0.125	14.8
Yes	248	86	84.6		85.2
Chin					
No	112	40.3	37	0.325	38.5
Yes	179	59.7	63		61.5
Face/Other					
No	279	95.3	96.3	0.163	95.9
Yes	12	4.7	3.7		4.1
Ears					
No	275	93.8	95.1	0.221	94.5
Yes	16	6.2	4.9		5.5
Nose					
No	271	89.1	96.3	5.734*	93.1
Yes	20	10.9	3.7		6.9
Neck					
No	276	93.8	95.7	0.519	94.8
Yes	15	6.2	4.3		5.2
Shoulders					
No	282	95.3	98.1	1.878	96.9
Yes	9	4.7	1.9		3.1
Upper Back					
No	271	91.5	94.4	0.991	93.1
Yes	20	8.5	5.6		6.9
Stomach					
No	246	80.6	87.7	2.718	84.5
Yes	45	19.4	12.3		15.5
Arms					
No	144	52.7	46.9	0.966	49.5
Yes	147	47.3	53.1		50.5
Underarms					
No	25	9.3	8	0.149	8.6
Yes	266	90.7	92		91.4
Hands					
No	255	87.6	87.7	0	87.6
Yes	36	12.4	12.3		12.4
Legs					
No	38	14	12.3	0.164	13.1
Yes	253	86	87.7		86.9
Buttocks					
No	245	86	82.7	0.599	84.2
Yes	46	14	17.3		15.8
Bikini Line					
No	146	48.8	51.2	0.165	50.2
Yes	145	51.2	48.8		49.8
Pubic, Patch					
No	205	67.4	72.8	1.005	70.4
Yes	86	32.6	27.2		29.6
Pubic & Anal					
No	198	63.6	71.6	2.134	68
Yes	93	36.4	28.4		32

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix I

Table 6: Contingency Table: Relationships Between Employment Status and Areas of Depilation

Body Areas	Employed vs. Unemployed			Full-time vs. Other			Part-time vs. Other			Total (%)
	Employed Women (%)	Unemployed Women (%)	χ^2	Full-time (%)	Other (%)	χ^2	Part-time (%)	Other (%)	χ^2	
Forehead										
No	270	93.1	92.3	0.066	92.3	93	0.036	93.9	92.4	92.8
Yes	21	6.9	7.7		7.7	7		6.1	7.6	7.2
Eyebrows										
No	19	5.2	8.5	1.305	5.1	7	0.343	3	7.6	6.5
Yes	272	94.8	91.5		94.9	93		97	92.4	93.5
Upper Lip										
No	43	14.9	14.5	0.009	11.5	16	0.887	19.7	13.3	14.8
Yes	248	85.1	85.5		88.5	84		80.3	86.7	85.2
Chin										
No	112	42.5	32.5	2.985	39.7	38	0.071	43.9	36.9	38.5
Yes	179	57.5	67.5		60.3	62		56.1	63.1	61.5
Face/Other										
No	279	96	95.7	0.011	96.2	95.8	0.021	95.5	96	95.9
Yes	12	4	4.3		3.8	4.2		4.5	4	4.1
Ears										
No	275	95.4	93.2	0.676	94.9	94.4	0.028	95.5	94.2	94.5
Yes	16	4.6	6.8		5.1	5.6		4.5	5.8	5.5
Nose										
No	271	92	94.9	0.931	93.6	93	0.036	87.9	94.7	93.1
Yes	20	8	5.1		6.4	7		12.1	5.3	6.9
Neck										
No	276	94.8	94.9	0	94.9	94.8	0	93.9	95.1	94.8
Yes	15	5.2	5.1		5.1	5.2		6.1	4.9	5.2
Shoulders										
No	282	97.7	95.7	0.91	96.2	97.2	0.202	100	96	96.9
Yes	9	2.3	4.3		3.8	2.8		0	4	3.1
Upper Back										
No	271	92	94.9	0.931	93.6	93	0.036	90.9	93.8	93.1
Yes	20	8	5.1		6.4	7		9.1	6.2	6.9
Stomach										
No	246	82.2	88	1.832	87.2	83.6	0.57	75.8	87.1	84.5
Yes	45	17.8	12		12.8	16.4		24.2	12.9	15.5
Arms										
No	144	47.7	52.1	0.551	50	49.3	0.011	48.5	49.8	49.5
Yes	147	52.3	47.9		50	50.7		51.5	50.2	50.5
Underarms										
No	25	6.9	11.1	1.582	9	8.5	0.02	4.5	9.8	8.6
Yes	266	93.1	88.9		91	91.5		95.5	90.2	91.4
Hands										
No	255	87.4	88	0.03	85.9	88.3	0.295	84.8	88.4	87.6
Yes	36	12.6	12		14.1	11.7		15.2	11.6	12.4
Legs										
No	38	10.3	17.1	2.807	11.5	13.6	0.217	7.6	14.7	13.1
Yes	253	89.7	82.9		88.5	86.4		92.4	85.3	86.9
Buttocks										
No	245	83.3	85.5	0.24	76.9	86.9	4.231*	84.8	84	84.2
Yes	46	16.7	14.5		23.1	13.1		15.2	16	15.8
Bikini Line										
No	146	49.4	51.3	0.096	56.4	47.9	1.659	40.9	52.9	50.2
Yes	145	50.6	48.7		43.6	52.1		59.1	47.1	49.8
Pubic, Patch										
No	205	75.3	63.2	4.871*	73.1	69.5	0.354	77.3	68.4	70.4
Yes	86	24.7	36.8		26.9	30.5		22.7	31.6	29.6
Pubic & Anal										
No	198	64.4	73.5	2.686	69.2	67.6	0.069	59.1	70.7	68
Yes	93	35.6	26.5		30.8	32.4		40.9	29.3	32

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix I

Table 7: Contingency Table: Relationships Between Income and Areas of Depilation

Body Areas	Individual Income			Family Income			Total (%)
	\$10,999 or Below (%)	\$11,000 or Higher (%)	χ^2	\$40,999 or Below (%)	\$41,000 or Higher (%)	χ^2	
Forehead							
No 270	92.3	93.9	0.213	97.1	90.4	4.536*	92.8
Yes 21	7.7	6.1		2.9	9.6		7.2
Eyebrows							
No 19	7.7	3.7	1.542	7.7	5.9	0.359	6.5
Yes 272	92.3	96.3		92.3	94.1		93.5
Upper Lip							
No 43	16.3	11	1.31	19.2	12.3	2.55	14.8
Yes 248	83.7	89		80.8	87.7		85.2
Chin							
No 112	39.2	36.6	0.175	42.3	36.4	0.997	38.5
Yes 179	60.8	63.4		57.7	63.6		61.5
Face/Other							
No 279	95.2	97.6	0.82	95.2	96.3	0.192	95.9
Yes 12	4.8	2.4		4.8	3.7		4.1
Ears							
No 275	92.8	98.8	4.023*	94.2	94.7	0.023	94.5
Yes 16	7.2	1.2		5.8	5.3		5.5
Nose							
No 271	92.3	95.1	0.71	92.3	93.6	0.17	93.1
Yes 20	7.7	4.9		7.7	6.4		6.9
Neck							
No 276	93.8	97.6	1.722	95.2	94.7	0.04	94.8
Yes 15	6.2	2.4		4.8	5.3		5.2
Shoulders							
No 282	96.7	97.6	0.163	97.1	96.8	0.023	96.9
Yes 9	3.3	2.4		2.9	3.2		3.1
Upper Back							
No 271	91.4	97.6	3.507	94.2	92.5	0.308	93.1
Yes 20	8.6	2.4		5.8	7.5		6.9
Stomach							
No 246	82.3	90.2	2.845	81.7	86.1	0.974	84.5
Yes 45	17.7	9.8		18.3	13.9		15.5
Arms							
No 144	53.1	40.2	3.900*	53.8	47.1	1.232	49.5
Yes 147	46.9	59.8		46.2	52.9		50.5
Underarms							
No 25	8.6	8.5	0	10.6	7.5	0.813	8.6
Yes 266	91.4	91.5		89.4	92.5		91.4
Hands							
No 255	87.6	87.8	0.003	90.4	86.1	1.134	87.6
Yes 36	12.4	12.2		9.6	13.9		12.4
Legs							
No 38	16.7	3.7	8.886**	12.5	13.4	0.044	13.1
Yes 253	83.3	96.3		87.5	86.6		86.9
Buttocks							
No 245	83.3	86.6	0.491	85.6	83.4	0.233	84.2
Yes 46	16.7	13.4		14.4	16.6		15.8
Bikini Line							
No 146	52.2	45.1	1.165	49	50.8	0.083	50.2
Yes 145	47.8	54.9		51	49.2		49.8
Pubic, Patch							
No 205	70.3	70.7	0.004	71.2	70.1	0.039	70.4
Yes 86	29.7	29.3		28.8	29.9		29.6
Pubic & Anal							
No 198	66	73.2	1.381	71.2	66.3	0.721	68
Yes 93	34	26.8		28.8	33.7		32

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Appendix J

Table 1. Correlations on All the Modified Independent Variables and Dependent Variables

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
A Race	1																			
B Age	0.051	1																		
C Political Beliefs	-0.064	-0.048	1																	
D Individual Income	-0.072	-0.068	-0.03	1																
E Family Income	-0.037	0.095	-0.095	0.094	1															
F Employment Status	-0.011	-0.060	-0.057	.350**	0.065	1														
G Relationship Status	-0.031	-0.109	.238**	-0.139*	-0.003	-0.011	1													
H Negative Attitudes towards Body Hair	-0.094	0.011	-0.049	.138*	0.085	0.009	0.005	1												
I Appearance-Related Attitudes	-0.067	0.058	0.073	0.063	-0.021	0.054	-0.056	.191**	1											
J Beauty Routines	0.037	0.030	0.070	0.074	-0.049	0.114	0.043	0.093	.201**	1										
K Clothing Routines	0.039	-0.039	0.048	-0.04	-0.015	0.087	0.053	-.118*	0.069	0.061	1									
L Hygiene-Related Attitudes	0.035	-0.008	-0.015	0.037	0.02	-0.023	0.022	-0.066	0.022	0.004	-0.01	1								
M Attitudes towards Thin Bodies	-0.089	-0.064	0.037	0.093	-0.059	0.073	0.037	-.130*	0.009	-0.062	.151*	0.059	1							
N Social Rewards	-0.040	-0.013	0.103	-0.055	-0.128	-0.027	-0.049	-.237**	0.066	0.043	.216**	-0.006	.169*	1						
O Social Consequences	-0.104	-0.056	0.046	0.059	0.065	0.003	0.051	0.129	0.15	0.106	0.059	-.144*	0.077	-0.011	1					
P Female Socialization	0.072	-0.018	-0.100	0.078	0.018	-0.014	-0.041	.302**	0.061	.165**	-.167**	0.04	-.144*	-.244**	0.097	1				
Q Male Socialization	0.037	-0.095	-0.037	.142*	-0.039	-0.064	-0.105	0.106	0.069	0.036	-0.033	0.032	-.144*	-.175*	0.002	.251**	1			
R Media Socialization	0.111	-0.087	0.024	.177**	-0.082	0.049	0.025	-0.015	0.062	0.009	-0.046	0.09	0.059	0.077	-0.004	.247**	.304**	1		
S Depilation from public-visible body areas	-0.068	-0.017	0.007	0.107	0.092	0.031	-0.046	.228**	0.062	0.103	-0.088	-.147*	0.029	-.084	0.058	.265**	.134*	.145*	1	
T Depilation from private/hidden body areas	-0.037	-0.040	0.027	-0.08	0.003	0.053	-0.04	-.273**	-0.104	0.041	.134*	0.005	0.066	.168*	-0.069	0.01	0.05	0.048	.319**	1
U Number of Depilatory Methods Used	0.056	-0.093	0.032	.202**	-0.067	0.024	-0.094	-0.062	0.077	0.105	0.029	.132*	0.009	0.016	-0.039	.390**	.427**	.423**	.163**	.264**

** Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Pearson Correlation significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Appendix J

Table 2: Standardized and Unstandardized Regression Coefficients of Independent Variables on the Extent of Depilation from Public Areas

Independent Variables		Number of Public/Visible Body Areas Depilated							
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
		<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>
Female Socialization	(Number of Women)	0.439 (0.104)	0.376***	0.346 (0.111)	0.297**	0.355 (0.117)	0.305**	0.352 (0.124)	.302**
Male Socialization	(Number of Men)	-0.132 (0.180)	-0.067	-0.123 (0.181)	-0.062	-0.132 (0.191)	-0.066	-0.137 (0.197)	-0.069
Media Socialization	(Number of Media Sources)	0.206 (0.172)	0.110	0.269 (0.181)	0.144	0.263 (0.187)	0.141	0.266 (0.190)	0.142
Attitudes	(Number of responses towards Negative Attitudes)			0.089 (0.036)	.228*	0.088 (0.038)	.226*	0.089 (0.039)	.226*
Hygiene-Related Attitudes	(Not Important to Very Important)			-0.148 (0.134)	-0.098	-0.154 (0.138)	-0.102	-0.156 (0.142)	-0.1
Appearance-Related Attitudes	(Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree)			0.01 (0.059)	0.02	0.008 (0.063)	0.016	0.003 (0.066)	0.006
Attitudes towards Bodily Maintenance	(Not Important to Very Important)			0.044 (0.077)	0.05	0.043 (0.085)	0.049	0.045 (0.087)	0.051
Beauty Routines	(Number of Beauty Routines)			0.052 (0.138)	0.033	0.049 (0.144)	0.031	0.049 (0.146)	0.031
Clothing Routines	(Number of Clothing Routines)			0.080 (0.143)	0.049	0.051 (0.154)	0.031	0.057 (0.160)	0.035
Race	(White=1)					0.067 (0.303)	0.02	0.072 (0.307)	0.022
Relationship Status	(Dating=1)					-0.004 (0.184)	-0.002	-0.007 (0.188)	-0
Political Beliefs	(Conservative to Liberal)					0.106 (0.107)	0.092	0.111 (0.112)	0.096
Employment Status	(Employed=1)					-0.051 (0.126)	-0.036	-0.051 (0.129)	-0.04
Individual Income	(in Dollars)					-0.030 (0.082)	-0.034	-0.031 (0.083)	-0.04
Family Income	(in Dollars)					0.023 (0.062)	0.033	0.022 (0.064)	0.031
Age	(In Years)					0.009 (0.080)	0.011	0.008 (0.081)	0.009
Social Rewards	(Postive Social Reactions)							-0.012 (0.102)	-0.013
Social Consequences	(Negative Social Reactions)							-0.005 (0.045)	-0.01
R		0.408		0.478		0.492		0.492	
R-Square		0.166		0.230		0.242		0.242	
Adjusted R-Square		0.145		0.174		0.132		0.116	
Residual		235.684		217.73		214.307		214.254	
F		7.708		4.138		2.212		1.916	
Significance		0.000		0.000		0.010		0.024	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Standard Error in parentheses

Appendix J

Table 3: Standardized and Unstandardized Regression Coefficients of Independent Variables on the Extent of Depilation from Private Areas

Independent Variables		Number of Private/Hidden Body Areas Depilated							
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
		<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>
Attitudes	(Number of responses towards Negative Attitudes)	-0.015 (0.053)	-0.03	-0.005 (0.053)	-0.01	-0.010 (0.055)	-0.022	-0.012 (0.058)	-0.026
Clothing Routines	(Number of Clothing Routines)	0.276 (0.205)	0.154	0.198 (0.214)	0.110	0.247 (0.220)	0.138	0.270 (0.222)	0.151
Beauty Routines	(Number of Beauty Routines)	-0.038 (0.203)	-0.02	-0.029 (0.204)	-0.017	-0.023 (0.204)	-0.013	-0.125 (0.211)	-0.071
Hygiene-Related Attitudes	(Not Important to Very Important)	0.206 (0.170)	0.134	0.192 (0.172)	0.125	0.171 (0.173)	0.112	0.269 (0.181)	0.176
Appearance-Related Attitudes	(Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree)	-0.053 (0.071)	-0.090	-0.064 (0.074)	-0.11	-0.087 (0.075)	-0.146	-0.082 (0.075)	-0.138
Attitudes towards Bodily Maintenance	(Not Important to Very Important)	0.007 (0.104)	0.008	-0.027 (0.109)	-0.029	-0.033 (0.123)	-0.036	0.001 (0.124)	0.001
Social Rewards	(Postive Social Reactions)			0.174 (0.132)	0.162	0.140 (0.133)	0.130	0.203 (0.143)	0.188
Social Consequences	(Negative Social Reactions)			-0.018 (0.061)	-0.03	-0.016 (0.064)	-0.030	-0.037 (0.064)	-0.068
Race	(White=1)					0.356 (0.449)	0.099	0.287 (0.462)	0.079
Relationship Status	(Dating=1)					-0.823 (0.410)	-0.236*	-0.689 (0.421)	-0.198
Political Beliefs	(Conservative to Liberal)					0.132 (0.151)	0.104	0.129 (0.152)	0.101
Employment Status	(Employed=1)					-0.211 (0.420)	-0.059	-0.314 (0.429)	-0.088
Individual Income	(in Dollars)					-0.200 (0.120)	-0.207	-0.177 (0.123)	-0.183
Family Income	(in Dollars)					-0.023 (0.091)	-0.028	-0.021 (0.093)	-0.026
Age	(In Years)					-0.020 (0.115)	-0.020	-0.022 (0.144)	-0.022
Female Socialization	(Number of Women)							0.107 (0.181)	0.084
Male Socialization	(Number of Men)							0.257 (0.328)	0.101
Media Socialization	(Number of Media Sources)							-0.515 (0.263)	-0.26
R		0.226		0.269		0.400		0.454	
R-Square		0.051		0.073		0.160		0.206	
Adjusted R-Square		-0.019		-0.021		-0.015		-0.001	
Residual		240.477		235.058		212.951		201.308	
F		0.728		0.772		0.913		0.993	
Significance		0.628		0.628		0.554		0.478	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Standard Error in parentheses

Appendix J

Table 4: Standardized and Unstandardized Regression Coefficients of Independent Variables on the Number of Depilatory Methods Used

Independent Variables		Number of Depilatory Methods Used							
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
		<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Beta</i>
Female Socialization	(Number of Women)	0.242 (0.110)	.201*	0.226 (0.119)	0.188	0.369 (0.133)	.307**	0.387 (0.141)	.322**
Male Socialization	(Number of Men)	0.695 (0.227)	.287**	0.657 (0.252)	.271*	0.620 (0.250)	.256*	0.652 (0.254)	.269*
Media Socialization	(Number of Media Sources)	0.648 (0.174)	.344***	0.662 (0.180)	.351***	0.537 (0.198)	.285**	0.498 (0.204)	.264*
Individual Income	(in Dollars)			0.007 (0.093)	0.007	0.052 (0.095)	0.056	0.055 (0.096)	0.060
Race	(White=1)			0.412 (0.323)	0.120	0.485 (0.356)	0.141	0.512 (0.359)	0.149
Relationship Status	(Dating=1)			-0.302 (0.323)	-0.091	-0.438 (0.324)	-0.132	-0.394 (0.326)	-0.119
Political Beliefs	(Conservative to Liberal)			-0.024 (0.113)	-0.020	-0.022 (0.115)	-0.018	0.013 (0.118)	0.011
Employment Status	(Employed=1)			-0.083 (0.332)	-0.024	-0.214 (0.332)	-0.063	-0.232 (0.332)	-0.068
Family Income	(in Dollars)			-0.058 (0.071)	-0.077	-0.073 (0.071)	-0.096	-0.061 (0.072)	-0.080
Age	(In Years)			-0.051 (0.089)	-0.053	-0.043 (0.088)	-0.044	-0.049 (0.089)	-0.051
Attitudes	(Number of responses towards Negative Attitudes)					-0.078 (0.045)	-0.180	-0.081 (0.045)	-0.185
Appearance-Related Attitudes	(Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree)					-0.058 (0.056)	-0.103	-0.042 (0.058)	-0.075
Beauty Routines	(Number of Beauty Routines)					-0.030 (0.164)	-0.018	-0.034 (0.164)	-0.02
Clothing Routines	(Number of Clothing Routines)					0.284 (0.168)	0.167	0.271 (0.172)	0.159
Hygiene-Related Attitudes	(Not Important to Very Important)					0.139 (0.139)	0.096	0.118 (0.140)	0.081
Attitudes towards Bodily Maintenance	(Not Important to Very Important)					-0.040 (0.095)	-0.046	-0.026 (0.096)	-0.029
Social Rewards	(Postive Social Reactions)							0.007 (0.111)	0.007
Social Consequences	(Negative Social Reactions)							-0.067 (0.050)	-0.131
R		0.593		0.624		0.676		0.686	
R-Square		0.352		0.389		0.457		0.471	
Adjusted R-Square		0.329		0.310		0.334		0.333	
Residual		148.176		139.639		124.196		121.028	
F		15.202		4.907		3.731		3.408	
Significance		0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000	

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Standard Error in parentheses

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ABSTRACT**UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS BODY HAIR AND HAIR REMOVAL: AN EXPLORATION OF THE EFFECTS OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, SOCIALIZATION, AND SOCIETAL PRESSURES**

by

BESSIE N. RIGAKOS**May 2010****Advisor:** Dr. Heather E. Dillaway**Major:** Sociology**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

Body hair removal is a behavior that is taken for granted by many women in the United States. Existing feminist literature suggests that body hair removal is a major component of societal norms. This study aimed to contribute to the literature by exploring the social factors that influence the extent of women's depilation from public/visible body areas, private/hidden body areas, and the number of depilatory methods utilized. A total of 303 female students from Wayne State University completed questionnaires asking about their attitudes towards body hair/hair removal. It was confirmed that the vast majority (291 or 96%) remove their body hair, whereas only 12 participants (4%) did not remove body hair. Because most sample participants were removers, statistical analyses were completed on this group only. Bivariate procedures were undertaken to examine whether women's social background characteristics, bodily routines, attitudes towards beauty/body hair, knowledge of and/or experiences with social rewards/consequences, and socialization towards hairlessness norms influenced the extent of participants' depilation from public/private body areas. Participants' open-

ended comments were utilized to supplement and explain most of the statistical results found in this study. Multivariate techniques further examined the effects of these social factors on types of depilation, but a third dependent variable, the number of depilatory methods used, was assessed as well. Findings reveal that women in this study remove hair from more public body areas than private body areas. Additionally, and with some caution, women's socialization to hairlessness norms influenced both the extent of their depilation from public areas and the number of depilatory methods they reported using, and greater numbers of negative attitudes towards body hair influenced the extent of women's depilation from public body areas. The social contexts evaluated in this study did not play an influential role in determining the extent of participants' depilation from private body areas.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

BESSIE N. RIGAKOS

I received a Bachelor of Arts (BA) in Sociology (1999), and a certificate in Criminology (2000), from the University of Windsor in Ontario, Canada. I continued with my education in the United States, and in 2004, I earned my Masters in Sociology (MA) from Wayne State University. Over the next few years at Wayne State, I was awarded a research assistantship and a teaching assistantship through Wayne State University.

My research assistantship was at Karmanos Cancer Institute in the Department of Behavioral Oncology (2003-2005). This assistantship sparked my interest in women's health. Women dealing with illness are faced with not only the stress of their illness, but also the biases and stereotypes to which others (including health care practitioners) adhere. Although many illnesses, such as cancer, are invisible, their side effects (e.g., hair loss, weight gain) are visible and may result in negative social reactions. Hence, my interests in the experiences of invisible illnesses parallel my interests in the experience of beauty standards as explored in this dissertation, since women with both experiences may have knowledge of and/or experiences with positive/negative social reactions based on others' reactions to their physical appearances.

During my teaching assistantship at Wayne State (2006-2008), I learned two important things: that teaching is my passion, and that to be a good teacher one must remain a good student. I attempt to improve my teaching skills by keeping up on current social issues, taking advice from experienced professors, and/or instructors. Perhaps the most important tool is using student evaluations to inform me of my weaknesses.

Currently, I work as a statistician and methodologist for the Michigan Consumer Evaluation Team (MCET). As a statistician, I utilize The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Excel, to analyze the relationships between patients/consumers with mental illness and the institutions that provided them with care. Significant findings related to consumer's satisfaction and improvements regarding the in and out-patient programs provided by the State of Michigan are presented monthly to the Michigan Mental Health Organization. Additionally, my responsibilities as a methodologist include creating the questionnaires in which the consumers use to collect data from other consumers. I hope to continue pursuing my goals of teaching and researching women's health in the future.